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T H E
P R E F A C E.

*T*HE Reader can desire no better Recommendation of the History now published, than to be assured that it is the genuine Work of the great Earl of Clarendon. The Work itself bears plain Characteristics of its Author. The same Dignity of Sentiment, and Style, which distinguishes THE HISTORY OF THE REBELLION, and all other the Works of this noble Writer, breathes through the whole of this Performance.

THE Reason, why this History has lain so long concealed, will appear from the * Title of it, which shews that his Lordship intended it only for the Information of his Children. But the late Lord Hyde, judging that so faithful and authentic an Account of this interesting Period of our History would be an useful and acceptable Present to the Publick, and bearing a grateful Remembrance of this Place of his Education, left by his Will this, and the other Remains of his Great Grandfather, in the Hands of Trustees, to be printed at our Press, and directed that the Profits arising from the Sale should be employed towards the establishing a Riding-School in the University.

* See Continuation, Page 1.

*But Lord Hyde dying before his Father, the then Earl of Clarendon, the Property of these Papers never became vested in him, and consequently this Bequest was void. However, the noble Heiresses of the Earl of Clarendon, out of their Regard to the Publick, and to this Seat of Learning, have been pleased to fulfill the kind Intentions of Lord Hyde, and adopt a Scheme recommended both by him, * and his Great Grandfather. To this End They have sent to the University this History to be printed at our Press, on Condition that the Profits arising from the Publication or Sale of this Work be applied, as a Beginning for a Fund for supporting a Manage, or Academy for Riding, and other useful Exercises, in Oxford.*

THE Work here offered to the Publick consists of two Parts. The Second, which is the most important and interesting Part of the Work, is THE HISTORY OF THE EARL OF CLARENDON'S LIFE FROM THE YEAR 1660 TO 1667, from the Restoration to the Time of his Banishment, and includes in it the most memorable Transactions of those Times. It may be therefore considered in two Views. It is a Second Part of LORD CLARENDON'S LIFE: And is also a Continuation of his former History, entitled THE HISTORY OF THE REBELLION, from the Year 1660, where that ends, to the Year 1667. This is carefully printed, without any material Variations, from a Manuscript all of Lord Clarendon's own Hand-writing, excepting some few Pages in the Hand of his Amanuensis, which are only Tran-

* See his Dialogue on Education, Page 325, &c.

scripts

THE PREFACE.

III

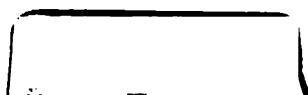
scripts from two Papers, the one, a Letter from the Chancellor to the King on the Subject of his Majesty's declared Displeasure; the other, a Paper containing his Reasons for withdrawing himself, which He left behind him to be presented to the House of Peers.

TO this our noble Benefactresses have thought fit to prefix, as a First Part, THE HISTORY OF THE EARL OF CLARENDON'S LIFE, FROM HIS BIRTH, TO THE YEAR 1660, extracted from another Manuscript of Lord Clarendon's own Hand-writing. This other Manuscript is entitled by his Lordship, THE HISTORY OF HIS OWN LIFE, and contains likewise the Substance of THE HISTORY OF THE REBELLION. However, it is not the Manuscript from whence that History was printed, but appears rather to be the rough Draught from whence that History, or however great Part of it, was afterwards compiled. For although He tells us towards the Close of this Work, that He wrote the first four Books of THE HISTORY OF THE REBELLION in the Island of Jersey, (many Years before the Date of this HISTORY OF HIS LIFE) yet He likewise informs us, that He did not proceed to compleat that History till after his Banishment. It is therefore supposed by the Family (and the Supposition seems to carry with it great Probability) that, seeing an unjust and cruel Persecution prevail against him, He was induced at that Time to extend the original Plan of his Work, by introducing the particular History of his own Life, from his earliest Days down to the Time of his

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Disgrace,

Palm. 1882





**T H E
C O N T I N U A T I O N**

O f t h e L I F E o f

E D W A R D E a r l o f C L A R E N D O N ,

L O R D H I G H C H A N C E L L O R o f E N G L A N D ,

A N D

C H A N C E L L O R o f t h e U N I V E R S I T Y o f O X F O R D .

B e i n g a C O N T I N U A T I O N o f

**H I S H I S T O R Y o f t h e G R A N D R E B E L L I O N ,
f r o m t h e R E S T O R A T I O N t o h i s
B A N I S H M E N T i n 1 6 6 7 .**

W R I T T E N B Y H I M S E L F .

**P r i n t e d f r o m h i s O R I G I N A L M A N U S C R I P T S , g i v e n
t o t h e U N I V E R S I T Y o f O X F O R D b y
t h e H e i r s o f t h e l a t e E A R L o f
C L A R E N D O N .**

Ne quid Falsi dicere audeat, ne quid Veri non audeat. Cicero.

V O L U M E T H E S E C O N D .

T H E T H I R D E D I T I O N .

O X F O R D ,

A t t h e C L A R E N D O N P R I N T I N G - H O U S E . M . D C C . L X I .

210. n. 441.

The Continuation of the Life of

late Times had exceeded them in Mischief, than Care for their own Indemnity: This Temper sufficiently evident, and the universal Joy of the People, which was equally visible, for the total Suppression of all those who had so many Years exercised Tyranny over them, made most Men believe, both abroad and at Home, that God had not only restored the King miraculously to his Throne, but that He had, as He did in the Time of *Hezekiah*, *prepared the People, for the Thing was done suddenly*, (2 Chron. xxix. 36.) in such a Manner, that his Authority and Greatness would have been more illustrious, than it had been in any of his Ancestors. And it is most true, and must never be denied, that the People were admirably disposed and prepared to pay all the Subjection, Duty and Obedience, that a just and prudent King could expect from them, and had a very sharp Aversion and Detestation of all those who had formerly misled and corrupted them; so that, except the General, who seemed to be possessed entirely of the Affection of the Army, and whose Fidelity was now above any Misapprehension, there appeared no Man whose Power and Interest could in any Degree shake or endanger the Peace and Security the King was in; the Congratulations for his Return being so universal, from all the Counties of *England*, as well as from the Parliament and City; from all those who had most signally diserved and disclaimed him, as well as from those of his own Party and those who were descended from them: Infomuch as the King was wont merrily to say, as hath been mentioned before, "that it could be Nobody's Fault but his own that He had stayed so long abroad, when all Mankind wished him so heartily at Home." It cannot therefore but be concluded by the Standers by, and the Spectators of this wonderful Change and Exclamation of all Degrees of Men, that there must be some wonderful Miscarriages in the State, or some unheard of Defect of Understanding in those who were trusted by the King in the Administration of his Affairs; that there

there could in so short a Time be a new Revolution in the general Affections of the People, that They grew even weary of that Happiness They were possessed of and had so much valued, and fell into the same Discontents and Murmurings which had naturally accompanied them in the worst Times. From what fatal Causes these miserable Effects were produced, is the Business of this present Disquisition to examine, and in some Degree to discover; and therefore must be of such a Nature, as must be as tenderly handled, with Reference to Things and Persons, as the Discovery of the Truth will permit; and cannot be presumed to be intended ever for a publick View, or for more than the Information of his Children of the true Source and Grounds from whence their Father's Misfortunes proceeded, in which Nothing can be found that can make them ashamed of his Memory.

THE King brought with him from beyond the Seas that Council which had always attended him, and whose Advice He had always received in his Transactions of greatest Importance; and his small Family, that consisted of Gentlemen who had for the most Part been put about him by his Father, and constantly waited upon his Person in all his Distress, with as much Submission and Patience undergoing their Part in it, as could reasonably be expected from such a People; and therefore had the keener Appetites, and the stronger Presumption to push on their Fortunes (as They called it) in the Infancy of their Master's Restoration, that other Men might not be preferred before them, who had not *borne the Heat of the Day*, as They had done.

(3) OF the Council were the Chancellor, the Marquis of Ormond, the Lord *Colepepper*, and Secretary *Nicholas*, who lived in great Unity and Concurrence in the Communication of the most secret Counsels. There had been more of his Council abroad with him, who

*The King's
Council at the
Restoration,*

according to the Motions He made and the Places He had resided in, were some Times with him, but other remained in *France*, or in some Parts of *Holland* and *Flanders*, for their Convenience, ready to repair to his Majesty when They should be called. The four nominated above were They who constantly attended, were privy to all Counsels, and waited upon him in his Return.

Lord Chancellor
Hyde.

THE Chancellor was the highest in Place, and thought to be so in Trust, because He was most in private with the King, had managed most of the secret Correspondence in *England*, and all Dispatches of Importance had passed through his Hands; which had hitherto been with the less Envy, because the indefatigable Pains He took were very visible, and it was as visible that He gained Nothing by it. His Wants and Necessities were as great as any Man's, nor was the Allowance assigned to him by the King in the least Degree more, or better paid, than every one of the Council received. Besides, the Friendship was so entire between the Marquis of *Ormond* and him, that no Arts that were used could dissolve it; and it was enough known, that as He had an entire and full Confidence from the King and a greater Esteem than any Man, so that the Chancellor so entirely communicated all Particulars with him, that there was not the least Resolution taken without his Privy and Approbation. The Chancellor had been employed by the last King in all the Affairs of the greatest Trust and Secrecy; had been made Privy Counsellor and Chancellor of the Exchequer in the very Beginning of the Troubles; and had been sent by that King into the *West* with his Son, when He thought their Interest would be best preserved and provided for by separating their Persons. A greater Testimony and Recommendation a Servant could not receive from his Master, than the King gave of him to the Prince, who from that Time treated him with as much Affection and Confidence as any Man, and which (as it is said) was

EDWARD *Earl of CLARENDON*, &c.

Opposition) He continued and improved to this Time of his Restoration; and even then rejected some Intimations rather than Propositions which were secretly made to him at the *Hague*, that the Chancellor was a Man very much in the Prejudice of the Presbyterian Party, as in Truth He was, and therefore that his Majesty would do best to leave him behind, till He should be himself settled in *England*: Which the King received with that Indignation and Disdain, and answered the Person, who privately presumed to give the Advice, in such a Manner, that He was troubled no more with the Importunity, nor did any Man ever own the Advice. Yet the Chancellor had besought the King upon some Rumours which had been spread, that if any Exception or Prejudice to his Person should be so insisted on, as might delay his Return one Hour, He would decline giving him any Protection, till He should find it more in his Power, after his Arrival in *England*: Which Desire of his, though it found no Reception with the King, proceeded from so much Sincerity, that it is well known, the Chancellor did positively resolve that if any such Thing had been urged by any Authority, He would render the King's Indulgence and Grace of no Inconvenience to his Majesty, by his secret and voluntary withdrawing himself, without his Privy, and without the Reach of his Discovery for some Time: So far He was from being biassed by his own particular Benefit and Advantage.

- (4) THE Marquis of *Ormond* was the Person of the greatest Quality, Estate, and Reputation, who had ^{The of C} frankly engaged his Person and his Fortune in the King's Service from the first Hour of the Troubles, and pursued it with that Courage and Constancy, that when the King was murdered, and He deserted by the *Irish*, contrary to the Articles of the Peace which they had made with him, and when He could make no longer Defence, He refused all the Conditions which *Cromwell* offered, who would have given him all his vast Estate, if He would have been contented to

The Continuation of the Life of

to have lived quietly in some of his own Houses, without farther concerning himself in the Quarrel; and transported himself, without so much as accepting a Pass from his Authority, in a little weak Vessel into *France*, where He found the King, from whom He never parted till He returned with him into *England*. And having thus merited as much as a Subject can do from a Prince, He had much more Credit and Esteem with the King than any other Man: And the Lustre the Chancellor was in, was no less from the declared Friendship the Marquis had for him, than from the great Trust his Majesty reposed in him.

*The Lord
Colepepper.*

THE Lord *Colepepper* was a Man of great Parts, a very sharp and present Wit, and an universal Understanding; so that few Men filled a Place in Council with more Sufficiency, or expressed themselves upon any Subject that occurred with more Weight and Vigour. He had been trusted by the late King (who had a singular Opinion of his Courage and other Abilities) to wait upon the Prince when He left his Father, and continued still afterwards with him, or in his Service, and in a good Correspondence with the Chancellor.

*Secretary
Nicholas.*

SECRETARY *Nicholas* was a Man of general good Reputation with all Men, of unquestionable Integrity and long Experience in the Service of the Crown; whom the late King trusted as much as any Man to his Death. He was one of those who were excepted by the Parliament from Pardon or Composition, and so was compelled to leave the Kingdom shortly after *Oxford* was delivered up, when the King was in the Hands of the *Scots*. The present King continued him in the Office of Secretary of State, which He had so long held under his Father. He was a Man of great Gravity, and without any ambitious or private Designs; and had so fast a Friendship with the Chancellor for many Years, that He was very well content and without any Jealousy for his making many Dispatches and other Transactions, which more immediately

diately related to his Office, and which indeed were always made with his Privy and Concurrence.

THIS was the State and Constitution of the King's Council, and his Family, when He embarked in *Holland*, and landed at *Dover*: The Additions and Alterations which were after made will be mentioned in their Place.

It will be convenient here, before We descend to those Particulars which had an Influence upon the Minds of Men, to take a clear View of the Temper and Spirit of that Time; of the Nature and Inclination of the Army; of the Disposition and Interest of the several Factions in Religion, all which appeared in their several Colours without dissembling their Principles, and with equal Confidence demanded the Liberty of Conscience They had enjoyed in and since the Time of *Cromwell*; and the Humour and the present Purpose and Design of the Parliament itself, to whose Judgment and Determination the whole Settlement of the Kingdom both in Church and State stood referred by the King's own Declaration from *Breda*, which by God's Inspiration had been the sole visible Motive to that wonderful Change that had ensued. And who-
 (s)soever takes a Prospect of all those several Passions The Temper and Spirit of that Time. and Appetites and Interests, together with the divided Affections, Jealousies and Animosities, of those who had been always looked upon as the King's Party, which if united would in that Conjunction have been powerful enough to have ballanced all the other: I say, whoever truly and ingenuously considers and reflects upon all this Composition of contradictory Wishes and Expectations, must confess that the King was not yet the Master of the Kingdom, nor his Authority and Security such as the general Noise and Acclamation, the Bells and the Bonfires, proclaimed it to be; and that there was in no Conjunction more Need, that the Virtue and Wisdom and Industry of a Prince should be evident and made manifest in the Preservation of his Dignity, and in the Application of his

his Mind to the Government of his Affairs; and that all who were eminently trusted by him, should be Men of unquestionable Sincerity, who with Industry and Dexterity should first endeavour to compose the publick Disorders, and to provide for the Peace and Settlement of the Kingdom, before They applied themselves to make or improve their own particular Fortunes. And there is little Question, but if this good Method had been pursued, and the Resolutions of that Kind, which the King had seriously taken beyond the Seas, when He first discerned his good Fortune coming towards him, had been executed and improved; the Hearts and Affections of all Degrees of Men were so prepared by their own natural Inclinations and Integrity, by what They had seen and what They had suffered, by their Observations and Experience, by their Fears or by their Hopes; that They might have been all kneaded into a firm and constant Obedience and Resignation to the King's Authority, and to a lasting Establishment of monarchick Power in all the just Extents which the King could expect, or Men of any publick or honest Affections could wish or submit to.

*Important
Scipitons
made to the
King at Can-
terbury by
some Roya-
lists.*

THE first Mortification the King met with was soon as He arrived at *Canterbury*, which was within three Hours after He landed at *Dover*; and where He found many of those who were justly looked upon, from their own Sufferings or those of their Fathers, and their constant adhering to the same Principles, as of the King's Party, who with Joy waited to kiss his Hand, and were received by him with those open Arms and flowing Expressions of Grace, calling all those by their Names who were known to him, that They easily assured themselves of the Accomplishment of all their Desires from such a generous Prince. And some of them, that They might not lose the first Opportunity, forced him to give them present Audience, in which They reckoned up the insupportable Losses undergone by themselves or their Fathers, and some

Ser-

Services of their own; and thereupon demanded the present Grant or Promise of such or such an Office. Some, for the real small Value of one though of the first *Classis*, pressed for two or three with such Confidence and Importunity, and with such tedious Discourses, that the King was extremely nauseated with their Suits, though his Modesty knew not how to break from them; that He no sooner got into his Chamber, which for some Hours He was not able to do, than He lamented the Condition to which He found He must be subject: And did in Truth from that Minute contract such a Prejudice against the Persons of some of those, though of the greatest Quality, for the Indecency and Incongruity of their Pretences, that He never afterwards received their Addresses with his usual Grace or Patience, and rarely granted any Thing They desired, though the Matter was more reasonable, and the Manner of asking much more modest.

- (5) BUT there was another Mortification which immediately succeeded this, that gave him much more Trouble, and in which He knew not how to comport himself. The General, after He had given all necessary Orders to his Troops, and sent a short Dispatch to the Parliament of the King's being come to *Canterbury*, and of his Purpose to stay there two Days till the next *Sunday* was past, He came to the King in his Chamber, and in a short secret Audience, and without any Preamble or Apology, as he was not a Man of a graceful Elocution, He told him, "that He could not do him better Service, than by recommending to him such Persons who were most grateful to the People, and in Respect of their Parts and Interests were best able to serve him:" And thereupon gave him a large Paper full of Names, which the King in Disorder enough received, and without reading put it into his Pocket that He might not enter into any particular Debate upon the Persons, and told him "that He would be always ready to re-
- "ceive
- Monk recommends a List of Privy Counsellors to the King.

“ceive his Advice, and willing to gratify him in any Thing He should desire, and which would not be prejudicial to his Service.” The King, as soon as He could, took an Opportunity, when there remained no more in his Chamber, to inform the Chancellor of the first Assaults He had encountered as soon as He alighted out of his Coach, and afterwards of what the General had said to him; and thereupon took the Paper out of his Pocket and read it. It contained the Names of at least threescore and ten Persons, who were thought fittest to be made Privy Counsellors; in the whole Number whereof, there were only two, who had ever served the King or been looked upon as zealously affected to his Service, the Marquis of *Hertford*, and the Earl of *Southampton*, who were Both of so universal Reputation and Interest, and so well known to have the very particular Esteem of the King, that They needed no such Recommendation. All the rest were either those Counsellors who had served the King, and deserted him by adhering to the Parliament; or of those who had most eminently diserved him in the Beginning of the Rebellion, and in the carrying it on with all Fierceness and Animosity until the new Model, and dismissing the Earl of *Essex*: Then indeed *Cromwell* had grown terrible to them, and disposed them to wish the King were again possessed of his regal Power, and which They did but wish. There were then the Names of the principal Persons of the Presbyterian Party, to which the General was thought to be most inclined, at least to satisfy the foolish and unruly Inclinations of his Wife. There were likewise the Names of some who were most notorious in all the other Factions; and of some who in Respect of their mean Qualities and meaner Qualifications, Nobody could imagine how They could come to be named, except that, by the very odd Mixture, any sober and wise Resolutions and Concurrence might be prevented.

THE King was in more than ordinary Confusion with the reading this Paper, and knew not well what to think of the General, in whose absolute Power He now was. However, He resolved in the Entrance upon his Government not to consent to such Impositions, which might prove perpetual Fetters and Chains upon him ever after. He gave the Paper therefore to the Chancellor, and bade him "take the first Opportunity to discourse the Matter with the General" (whom He had not yet saluted) "or rather with Mr. *Morrice* his most intimate Friend," whom He had newly presented to the King, and "with Both whom He presumed He would shortly be acquainted," though for the present Both were equally unknown to him. Shortly after, when mutual Visits had passed between them, and such Professions as naturally are made between Persons who were like to have much to do with each other; and Mr. *Morrice* being in private with him, the Chancellor told him "how much the King was surprised with the Paper He had received from the General, which at least recommended (and which would have always great Authority with him) some such Persons to his Trust, in whom He could not yet, till They were better known to him, repose any Confidence." And thereupon He read many of their Names, and said, "that if such Men were made Privy Counsellors, it would either be imputed to the King's own Election, which would cause a very ill Measure to be taken of his Majesty's Nature and Judgment; or (which more probably would be the Case) to the Inclination and Power of the General, which would be attended with as ill Effects." Mr. *Morrice* seemed much troubled at the Apprehension, and said, "the Paper was of his Handwriting, by the General's Order, who He was assured had no such Intention; but that He would presently speak with him and return," which He did within less than an Hour, and expressed "the Trouble the General was in upon the King's very
"just

*With which
He is dis-
pleased.*

The Continuation of the Life of

“just Exception; and that the Truth was, *He had been obliged to have much Communication with Men of all Humours and Inclinations, and so had promised to do them good Offices to the King, and could not therefore avoid inserting their Names in that Paper, without any Imaginations that the King would accept them: That He had done his Part, and all that could be expected from him, and left the King to do what He had thought best for his own Service, which He would always desire him to do, whatever Proposition He should at any Time presume to make to his Majesty, which He would not promise should be always reasonable. However, He did still heartily wish, that his Majesty would make use of some of those Persons,*” whom He named, and said, “*He knew most of them were not his Friends, and that his Service would be more advanced by admitting them, than by leaving them out.*”

*But satisfied
by Monk's
Explanation.*

THE King was abundantly pleased with this good Temper of the General, and less disliked those, who He discerned would be grateful to him, than any of the rest: And so the next Day, He made the General Knight of the *Garter*, and admitted him of the Council; and likewise at the same Time gave the Signet to Mr. *Morrice*, who was sworn of the Council and Secretary of State; and Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper*, who had been presented by the General under a special Recommendation, was then too sworn of the Council, and the rather, because having lately married the Niece of the Earl of *Southampton* (who was then likewise present, and received the *Garter* to which He had been elected some Years before) it was believed that his slippery Humour would be easily restrained and fixed by the Uncle. All this was transacted during his Majesty's Stay at *Canterbury*.

*To King's
triumphant
Entry into
London.*

UPON the 29th of *May*, which was his Majesty's Birth-Day, and now the Day of his Restoration and Triumph, He entered *London*, the Highway from *Rochester* to *Blackheath* being on both Sides so full of Acclamations of Joy, and crowded with such a Multitude

tude of People that it seemed one continued Street wonderfully inhabited. Upon *Blackheath* the Army was drawn up, consisting of above fifty thousand Men, Horse and Foot, in excellent Order and Equipage, where the General presented the chief Officers to kiss the King's Hands, which Grace They seemed to receive with all Humility and Cheerfulness. Shortly after, the Lord Mayor of *London*, the Sheriffs, and Body of the Aldermen, with the whole Militia of the City, appeared with great Lustre; whom the King received with a most graceful and obliging Countenance, and knighted the Mayor and all the Aldermen, and Sheriffs, and the principal Officers of the Militia: An Honour the City had been without near eighteen Years, and therefore abundantly welcome to the Husbands and their Wives. With this Equipage the King was attended through the City of *London*, where the Streets were railed in on Both Sides that the Livery of the Companies of the City might appear with the more Order and Decency, till He came to *Whiteball*; the Windows all the Way being full of Ladies and Persons of Quality, who were impatient to fill their Eyes with a beloved Spectacle of which They had been so long deprived. The King was no sooner at *Whiteball*, but (as hath been said) the Speakers, and Both Houses of Parliament, presented themselves with all possible Professions of Duty and Obedience at his Royal Feet, and were even ravished with the cheerful Reception They had from him. The Joy ^{*Excessive Joy upon the Restoration.*} was universal; and whosoever was not pleased at Heart, took the more Care to appear as if He was; and no Voice was heard but of the highest Congratulation, of extolling the Person of the King, admiring his Condescensions and Affability, raising his Praises to Heaven, and cursing and detesting the Memory of those Villains who had so long excluded so meritorious a Prince, and thereby withheld that Happiness from them, which They should enjoy in the largest Measure They could desire or wish. The Joy
on

on all Sides was with the greatest Excess, so that most Men thought, and had Reason enough to think, that the King was even already that great and glorious Prince, which the Parliament had wantonly and hypocritically promised to raise his Father to be.

*Both Houses
of Parliament
meet.*

*The Character
of the
House of Com-
mons.*

THE Chancellor took his Place in the House of Peers with a general Acceptation and Respect; and all those Lords who were alive and had served the King his Father, and the Sons of those who were dead and were equally excluded from sitting there by Ordinances of Parliament, together with all those who had been created by this King, took their Seats in Parliament without the least Murmur or Exception. The House of Commons seemed equally constituted to what could be wished; for though there were many Presbyterian Members, and some of all other Factions in Religion, who did all promise themselves some Liberty and Indulgence for their several Parties, yet They all professed great Zeal for the establishing the King in his full Power. And the major Part of the House was of sober and prudent Men, who had been long known to be very weary of all the late Governments, and heartily to desire and pray for the King's Return. And there were many, who had either themselves been actual and active Malignants and Delinquents in the late King's Time, or the Sons of such, who inherited their Fathers Virtues; Both which Classes of Men were excluded from being capable of being elected to serve in Parliament, not only by former Ordinances, but by express Caution in the very Writs which were sent out to summon this Parliament, and were notwithstanding made Choice of and returned by the Country, and received without any Hesitation in the House, and treated by all Men with the more Civility and Respect for their known Malignity; So that the King, though it was necessary to have Patience in the Expectations of their Resolutions in all important Points, which could not suddenly be concluded in such a popular Assembly, was very reasonably

sonably assured, that He should have nothing pressed upon him that should be ungrateful, with Reference to the Church or State.

It is true, the *Presbyterians* were very numerous in the House, and many of them Men of good Parts, and had a great Party in the Army, and a greater in the City, and except with Reference to Episcopacy were desirous to make themselves grateful to the King in the settling all his Interest, and especially in vindicating themselves from the odious Murder of the King by loud and passionate Inveighing against that monstrous Parricide, and with the highest Animosity denouncing the severest Judgments not only against those who were immediately guilty of it, but against those principal Persons who had most notoriously adhered to *Cromwell* in the Administration of his Government, that is, most eminently opposed them and their Faction. They took all Occasions to declare, "that the Power and Interest of the Party had been the chief Means to bring Home the King;" and used all possible Endeavours that the King might be persuaded to think so too, and that the very *Covenant* had at last done him Good and expedited his Return, by the causing it to be hung up in Churches, from whence *Cromwell* had cast it out, and their Ministers pressing upon the Conscience of all those who had taken it, "that They were bound by that Clause which concerned the Defence of the King's Person, to take up Arms, if Need were, on his Behalf, and to restore him to his rightful Government;" when the very same Ministers had obliged them to take up Arms against the King his Father by Virtue of that *Covenant*, and to fight against him till They had taken him Prisoner, which produced his Murder. This Party was much displeased, that the King declared himself so positively on Behalf of Episcopacy, and would hear no other Prayers in his Chapel than those contained in the *Book of Common Prayer*, and that all those Formalities and Solemnities were now again resumed and practised,

practised, which They had caused to be abolished for so many Years past. Yet the King left all Churches to their Liberty, to use such Forms of Devotion which They liked best; and such of their chief Preachers who desired it, or were desired by their Friends, were admitted to preach before him, even without the Surplice, or any other Habit than They made choice of. But this Connivance would not do their Business: Their Preaching made no Profelytes who were not so before; and the Resort of the People to those Churches, where the *Common Prayer* was again introduced, was Evidence enough of their Inclinations; and They saw the King's Chapel always full of those, who had used to possess the chief Benches in their Assemblies: So that it was manifest that Nothing but the supreme Authority would be able to settle their Discipline; and therefore with their usual Confidence They were very importunate in the House of Commons, "that the Ecclesiastical Government might be settled and remain according to the *Covenant*, which had been practised many Years, and so the People generally well devoted to it, whereas the introducing the *Common Prayer* (with which very few had ever been acquainted or heard it read) would very much offend the People, and give great Interruption to the composing the Peace of the Kingdom." This was urged in the House of Commons by eminent Men of the Party, who believed They had the major Part of their Mind. And their Preachers were as solicitous and industrious to inculcate the same Doctrine to the principal Persons who had returned with the King, and every Day resorted to the Court as if They presided there, and had frequent Audiences of the King to persuade him to be of the same Opinion; from whom They received no other Condescensions than They had formerly had at the *Hague*, with the same gracious Affability and Expressions to their Persons.

THAT Party in the House that was in Truth devoted to the King, and to the old Principles of Church
and

*Which urges
the Settlement
of Ecclesiasti-
cal Govern-
ment accord-
ing to the
Covenant.*

and of State, which every Day increased, thought not fit so to cross the *Presbyterians* as to make them desperate in their Hopes of Satisfaction, but, with the Concurrence with those who were of contrary Fac-
 (10) tions, diverted the Argument by proposing other Subjects of more immediate Relation to the publick Peace, as the *Act of Indemnity* which every Man impatiently longed for, and the raising Money towards the Payment of the Army and the Navy, without which that unsupportable Charge could not be lessened, to be first considered and dispatched; and the Model for Religion to be debated and prepared by that Committee, which had been nominated before his Majesty's Return to that Purpose; They not doubting to cross and puzzle any pernicious Resolutions there, till Time and their own extravagant Follies should put some End to their destructive Designs.

IN the mean Time there were two Particulars, which the King with much inward Impatience, though with little outward Communication, did most desire, the disbanding the Army, and settling the Revenue, the Course and Receipt whereof had been so broken and perverted, and a great Part extinguished by the Sale of all the Crown-Lands, that the old Officers of the Exchequer, Auditors or Receivers, knew not how to resume their Administrations. Besides that the great Receipt of Excise and Customs was not yet vested in the King; nor did the Parliament make any Haste to assign it, finding it necessary to reserve it in the old Way, and not to divert it from those Assignments, which had been made for the Payment of the Army and Navy, for which until some other Provision could be made, it was to no Purpose to mention the disbanding the one or the other, though the Charge of Both was so vast and unsupportable, that the Kingdom must in a short Time sink under the Burden. For what concerned the Revenue and raising Money, the King was less solicitous, and yet there was not so much as any Assignment made for the Support of his

Houſhold, which cauſed a vaſt Debt to be contracted before taken Notice of, the Miſchief of which is hardly yet removed. He ſaw the Parliament every Day doing ſomewhat in it, and it quickly diſſolved all Bargains, Contracts and Sales, which had been of any of the Crown-Lands, ſo that all that Royal Revenue (which had been too much waſted and impaired in thoſe improvident Times which had preceded the Troubles) was entirely remitted to thoſe to whom it belonged, the King and the Queen his Mother; but very little Money was returned out of the ſame into the Exchequer in the Space of the firſt Year; ſo difficult it was to reduce any Payments which had been made for ſo many Years irregularly, into the old Channel and Order. And every Thing elſe of this Kind was done, how ſlowly ſoever, with as much Expedition as from the Nature of the Affair, and the Crowd in which it was neceſſary to be agitated, could reaſonably be expected; and therefore his Maſteſty was leſs troubled for thoſe Inconveniencies which He foreſaw muſt inevitably flow from thence.

*The Nature
and Inclina-
tion of the
Army.*

BUT the Delay in diſbanding the Army, how unavoidable ſoever, did exceedingly afflict him, and the more, becauſe for many Reaſons He could not urge it nor complain of it. He knew well the ill Conſtitution of the Army, the Diſtemper and Murmuring that was in it, and how many Diſeaſes and Convulſions their infant Loyalty was ſubject to; that how united ſoever their Inclinations and Acclamations ſeemed to be at *Blackheath*, their Affections were not the ſame: And the very Countenances then of many Officers as well as Soldiers did ſufficiently manifeſt, that They were drawn thither to a Service They were not delighted in. The General, before He had formed any Reſolution to himſelf, and only valued himſelf upon the Preſbyterian Intereſt, had caſhiered ſome Regiments and Companies which He knew not to be devoted to his Perſon and Greatneſs; and after He found it neceſſary to fix his own Hopes and Depend-
ance

ance upon the King, He had dismissed many Officers (u) who He thought might be willing and able to cross his Designs and Purposes, when He should think fit to discover them, and conferred their Charges and Commands upon those who had been disfavoured by the late Powers; and after the Parliament had declared for and proclaimed the King, He cashiered others, and gave their Offices to some eminent Commanders who had served the King; and gave others of the loyal Nobility Leave to lift Voluntiers in Companies to appear with them at the Reception of the King, who had all met and joined with the Army upon *Blackheath* in the Head of their Regiments and Companies: Yet, notwithstanding all this Providence, the old Soldiers had little Regard for their new Officers, at least had no Resignation for them; and it quickly appeared, by the select and affected Mixtures of sullen and melancholick Parties of Officers and Soldiers, that as ill-disposed Men of other Classes were left as had been disbanded; and that much the greater Part so much abounded with ill Humours, that it was not safe to administer a general Purgation. It is true that *Lambert* was close Prisoner in the *Tower*, and as many of those Officers who were taken and had appeared in Arms with him when He was taken, were likewise there or in some other Prisons, with others of the same Complexion, who were well enough known to have the present Settlement that was intended in perfect Detestation: But this Leprosy was spread too far to have the Contagion quickly or easily extinguished. How close soever *Lambert* himself was secured from doing Mischief, his Faction was at Liberty and very numerous; his disbanded Officers and Soldiers mingled and conversed with their old Friends and Companions, and found too many of them possessed with the same Spirit; They concurred in the same Reproaches and Revilings of the General, as the Man who had treacherously betrayed them, and led them into an Ambuscade from whence They knew not how

The Continuation of the Life of

to disentangle themselves. They looked upon him as the sole Person who still supported his own Model, and were well assured that if He were removed, the Army would be still the same and appear in their old Retrenchments; and therefore They entered into several Combinations to assassinate him, which They resolved to do with the first Opportunity. In a Word, They liked neither the Mein nor Garb nor Countenance of the Court, nor were wrought upon by the gracious Aspect and Benignity of the King himself.

ALL this was well enough known to his Majesty, and to the General, who was well enough acquainted and not at all pleased with the Temper and Disposition of his Army, and therefore no less desired it should be disbanded than the King did. In the mean Time, very diligent Endeavours were used to discover and apprehend some principal Persons, who took as much Care to conceal themselves; and every Day many dangerous or suspected Men of all Qualities were imprisoned in all Counties: Spies were employed, who for the most Part had the same Affections which They were to discover in others, and received Money on both Sides to do, and not to do, the Work They were appointed to do. And in this melancholick and perplexed Condition the King and all his Hopes stood, when He appeared most gay and exalted, and wore a Pleasantness in his Face that became him and looked like as full an Assurance of his Security as was possible to be put on.

*Disunion of
the King's
Friends.*

THERE was yet added to this slippery and uneasy Posture of Affairs, another Mortification, which made a deeper Impression upon the King's Spirit than all the rest, and without which the worst of the other would have been in some Degree remediable; that was, the Constitution and Disunion of those who were⁽¹²⁾ called and looked upon as his own Party, which without Doubt in the whole Kingdom was numerous enough, and capable of being powerful enough to give the Law to all the rest; which had been the
Ground

Ground of many unhappy Attempts in the late Time, that if any present Force could be drawn together, and possessed of any such Place in which They might make a Stand without being overrun in a Moment, the general Concurrence of the Kingdom would in a short Time reduce the Army, and make the King superiour to all his Enemies; which Imagination was enough confuted, though not enough extinguished, by the dearbought Experience in the woful Enterprize at *Worcester*. However, it had been now a very justifiable Presumption in the King, to believe as well as hope, that He could not be long in *England* without such an Apparency of his own Party that wished all that He himself desired, and such a Manifestation of their Authority, Interest and Power, that would prevent or be sufficient to subdue any forward Disposition that might grow up in the Parliament, or more extravagant Demands in the Army itself. An Apparence there was of that People, great enough, who had all the Wishes for the King which He entertained for himself. But They were so divided and disunited by private Quarrels, Factions and Animosities; or so unacquainted with each other; or, which was worse, so jealous of each other; the Understandings and Faculties of many honest Men were so weak and shallow, that They could not be applied to any great Trust; and others who wished and meant very well had a Peevishness, Frowardness and Opiniatrey, that They would be engaged only in what pleased themselves, nor would join in any Thing with such and such Men whom They disliked. The severe and tyrannical Government of *Cromwell* and the Parliament had so often banished and imprisoned them upon mere Jealousies, that They were grown Strangers to one another, without any Communication between them: And there had been so frequent Betrayings and Treacheries used, so many Discoveries of Meetings privately contrived, and of Discourses accidentally entered into, and Words and Expressions rashly and unad-

*A Review of
the Causes of
this Disunion
previous to
the Restoration.*

vifed uttered without any Design, upon which Multitudes were ftill imprifoned and many put to Death; that the Jealoufy was fo univerfal, that few Men who had ever fo good Affections for the King, durft confer with any Freedom together.

MOST of thofe of the Nobility who had with Conftancy and Fidelity adhered to the laft King, and had greateft Authority with all Men who profefled the fame Affections, were dead, as the Duke of *Richmond*, the Earl of *Dorfet*, the Lord *Capel*, the Lord *Hopton*, and many other excellent Perfons. And of that *Claffis*, that is, of a powerful Intereft and unfufpected Integrity (for there were fome very good Men, who were without any Caufe fufpected them, becaufe They were not equally perfecuted upon all Occafions) there were only two who furvived, the Marquis of *Hertford* and Earl of *Southampton*; who were Both great and worthy Men, looked upon with great Eftimation by all the moft valuable Men who could contribute moft to the King's Reftoration, and with Reverence by their greateft Enemy, and had been courted by *Cromwell* himfelf till He found it to no Purpofe. And though the Marquis had been prevailed with once and no more to give him a Vifit, the other, the Earl, could never be perfuaded fo much as to fee him; and when *Cromwell* was in the *New Foreft* and refolved one Day to vifit him, He being informed of it or fufpecting it, removed to another Houfe He had at fuch a Dif- tance as exempted him from that Vifitation. But thefe two great Perfons had for feveral Years withdrawn themfelves into the Country, lived retired, fent fome-⁽¹⁾ times fuch Money as They could raife out of their long-fequeftered and exhausted Fortunes, by Meffengers of their own Dependance, with Advice to the King, "to fit ftill and expect a reasonable Revolution, without making any unadvised Attempt;" and induftrioufly declined any Converfation or Commerce with any who were known to correfpond with the King: So that now upon his Majefty's Return, They

They were totally unacquainted with any of those Persons, who now looked as Men to be depended upon in any great Action and Attempt. And for themselves, as the Marquis shortly after died, so the other with great Abilities served him in his most secret and important Counsels, but had been never conversant in martial Affairs.

THERE had been six or eight Persons of general good and confessed Reputation, and who of all who were then left alive had had the most eminent Charges in the War, and executed them with great Courage and Discretion; so that few Men could with any reasonable Pretence refuse to receive Orders from them, or to serve under their Commands. They had great Affection for and Confidence in each other, and had frankly offered by an Express of their own Number, whilst the King remained in *France*, "that, if They were approved and qualified by his Majesty, They would by joint Advice intend the Care of his Majesty's Service; and as They would not engage in any absurd and desperate Attempt, but use all their Credit and Authority to prevent and discountenance the same, so They would take the first rational Opportunity, which They expected from the Divisions and Animosities which daily grew and appeared in the Army, to draw their Friends and old Soldiers who were ready to receive their Commands together, and try the utmost that could be done with the Loss or Hazard of their Lives:" Some of them having, beside their Experience in War, very considerable Fortunes of their own to lose, and were Relations to the greatest Families in *England*. And therefore They made it their humble Suit, "that this secret Correspondence might be carried on and known to none but to the Marquis of *Ormond* and to the Chancellor; and that if any other Counsels were set on Foot in *England* by the Activity of particular Persons, who too frequently with great Zeal and little Animadversion embarked themselves in impossible Undertakings,

“takings, his Majesty upon Advertisement thereof
 “would first communicate the Motives or Pretences
 “which would be offered to him, to them; and then
 “They would find Opportunity to confer with some
 “sober Man of that Fraternity” (as there was no
 well-affected Person in *England*, who at that Time
 would not willingly receive Advice and Direction from
 most of those Persons) “and thereupon They would
 “present their Opinion to his Majesty, and if the De-
 “sign should appear practicable to his Majesty, They
 “would chearfully embark themselves in it, otherwise
 “use their own Dexterity to divert it.” These Men
 had been armed with all necessary Commissions and
 Instructions according to their own Desires; the King
 consented to all They proposed; and the Ciphers and
 Correspondence were committed to the Chancellor, in
 whose Hands, with the Privy only of the Marquis
 of *Ormond*, all the Intelligence with *England*, of what
 Kind soever, was intrusted.

UNDER this Conduct for some Years all Things
 succeeded well, many unseasonable Attempts were
 prevented, and thereby the Lives of many good Men
 preserved: And though (upon the curious Jealousy
 of that Time, and the restless Apprehension of *Crom-*
well, and the almost continual Commitments of all
 who had eminently served the King and were able to
 do it again) these Persons who were thus trusted, or⁽¹⁴⁾
 the major Part of them, were seldom out of Prison,
 or free from the Obligation of good Sureties for their
 peaceable Behaviour; yet all the Vigilance of *Cromwell*
 and his most diligent Inquisitors could never discover
 this secret Intercourse between those Confidants and
 the King, which did always pass and was maintained
 by Expresses made Choice of by them, and supported
 at their Charge out of such Monies as were privately
 collected for publick Uses, of which They, who
 contributed most, knew little more than the Integrity
 of him who was intrusted, who did not always make
 skilful Contributions.

IT fell out unfortunately, that two of these principal Persons fell out, and had a fatal Quarrel, upon a Particular less justifiable than any Thing that could result from or relate to the great Trust They Both had from the King, which ought to have been of Influence enough to have suppressed or diverted all Passions of that Kind: But the Animosities grew suddenly irreconcilable, and if not divided the Affections of the whole *Knot*, at least interrupted or suspended their constant Intercourse and Confidence in each other, and so the diligent Accounts which the King used to receive from them. And the Cause growing more publick and notorious, though not known in a long Time after to the King, exceedingly lessened Both their Reputations with the most sober Men; insomuch as They withdrew all Confidence in their Conduct, and all Inclination to embark in the Business which was intrusted in such Hands. And which was worse than all this, one Person amongst them of as unblemished a Reputation as either of them, and of much better Abilities and Faculties of Mind, either affected with this untoward Accident, or broken with frequent Imprisonments and Despair of any Resurrection of the King's Interest, about this Time yielded to a foul Temptation; and for large Supplies of Money, which his Fortune stood in Need of, engaged to be a Spy to *Cromwell*, with a Latitude which He did not allow to others of that ingominious Tribe, undertaking only to impart enough of any Design to prevent the Mischief thereof, without exposing any Man to the Loss of his Life, or ever appearing himself to make good and justify any of his Discoveries. The rest of his Associates neither suspected their Companion, nor lessened their Affection or utmost Zeal for the King; though They remitted some of their Diligence in his Service, by the other unhappy Interruption.

THIS falling out during his Majesty's Abode in *Cologne*, He was very long without Notice of the Grounds of that Jealousy, which had obstructed his usual

usual Correspondence; and the Matter of Infidelity being not in the least Degree suspected, He could not avoid receiving Advice and Propositions from other honest Men, who were of known Affection and Courage, and who conversed much with the Officers of the Army, and were unskilfully disposed to believe that all They, who They had Reason to believe did hate *Cromwell*, would easily be induced to serve the King: And many of the Officers in their Behaviour, Discourses and Familiarity, contributed to that Belief; some of them, not without the Privy and Allowance of *Cromwell*, or his Secretary *Thurlow*. And upon Overtures of this Kind, and wonderful Confidence of Success, even upon the Preparations which were in Readiness, of and by his own Party, several Messengers were sent to the King; and by all of them sharp and passionate Complaints against those Persons, who were so much and still in the same Confidence with him, as Men who were at Ease, and uninclined to venture themselves upon dangerous or doubtful Enterprises. They complained, "that when They imparted to them or any one of them" (for They knew not of his Majesty's Reference to them, but had of themselves resorted to them as Men of the greatest⁽¹⁵⁾ Reputation for their Affections and Experience) "a Design which had been well consulted and deliberated by those who meant to venture their own Lives in the Execution of it, They made so many Excuses and Arguments and Objections against it, as if it were wholly unadvisable and unpracticable; and when They proposed the meeting and conferring with some of the Officers, who were resolved to serve his Majesty, and were willing to advise with them, as Men of more Interest and who had managed greater Commands, upon the Places of Rendezvous, and what Method should be observed in the Enterprises, making no Scruple themselves to receive Orders from them, or to do all Things They should require which might advance his Majesty's Service,

" these

"these Gentlemen only wished them to take Heed
"They were not destroyed, and positively refused to
"meet or confer with any of the Officers of the
"Army : And hereupon" They said "all the King's
"Party was so incensed against them, that They no
"more would have Recourse to them, or make any
"Conjunction with them." They informed his Majesty at large of the Animosity that was grown, between two of the principal Persons, and the original Cause thereof, and therefore desired "that some
"Person might be sent, to whom They might repair
"for Orders, until the King himself discerned that all
"Preparations were in such a Readiness, that He
"might reasonably venture his Royal Person with
"them."

THOUGH He was not at all satisfied with the Grounds of their Expectation and Proceedings, and therefore could not blame the Wariness and Reservedness of the other, and thought their Apprehension of being betrayed (which in the Language of that Time was called *trepanded*) which befel some Men every Day, very reasonable; yet the Confidence of many honest Men who were sure to pay dear for any rash Undertaking, and their Presumption in appointing a peremptory Day for a general Rendezvous over the Kingdom, but especially the Division of his Friends, and Sharpness against those upon whom He principally relied, was the Cause of his sending over the Lord *Rochester*, and of his own Concealment in *Zealand*: the Success whereof, and the ill Consequence of those precipitate Resolutions, in the Slaughter of many worthy and gallant Gentlemen with all the Circumstances of Insolence and Barbarity, are mentioned in their proper Places.

BUT these unhappy and fatal Miscarriages, and the sad Spectacles which ensued, made not those Impressions upon the Affections and Spirits of the King's Friends, as they ought to have done; nor rendered the Wariness and Discretion of those who had dissuaded

king a good Intelligence between Tempers and Understandings so different, the Marquis had the same good Fortune to retire from thence and bring himself safe to the King; which was the more wonderful Preservation, in that, during the whole Time of his Abode in *London*, He had trusted no Man more, nor conferred with any Man so much, as with that Person of the *select Knot*, who had been corrupted to give all Intelligence to *Cromwell*: And as He had now blasted and diverted some ill laid Designs, so He had discovered the Marquis his Arrival to him, but could not be prevailed with to inform him of his Lodging, which was particularly known to him upon every Change, or to contrive any Way for his Apprehension; on the contrary, as in all his Conferences with him He appeared a Man of great Judgment and Perspicacity, and the most ready to engage his Person in any Action that might be for his Majesty's Advantage, so He seemed best to understand the Temper of the Time, and the Parts, Faculties and Interest of all the King's Party; and left the Marquis abundantly satisfied with him, and of the general good Reputation He had with all Men: Which had afterwards an ill Effect, for it kept the King and those who were trusted by him from giving Credit to the first Information He received, from a Person who could not be deceived, of his Tergiversation; his late Fidelity to the Marquis of *Ormond* weighing down with them all the Intimations, until the Evidence was so pregnant, that there was no Room for any Doubt.

AFTER all these Endeavours by the King to discountenance and suppress all unseasonable Action amongst his Party, and to infuse into them a Spirit of Peace and Quiet till He himself could appear in the Head of some foreign Forces, which He looked upon as the only reasonable Encouragement that could animate his Friends to declare for him; the generous Distemper and Impatience of their Nature was incorrigible. They thought the Expectation of Miracles from

from God Almighty was too lazy and stupid a Confidence, and that God no less required their Endeavours and Activity, than They hoped for his Benediction in their Success. New Hopes were entertained, and Counsels suitable entered upon. Mr. *Mordaunt* the younger Son and Brother to the Earls of *Peterborough*, who was too young in the Time of the late War to act any Part in it, had lately undergone, after *Cromwell* himself had taken great Pains in the Examination of him, a severe Trial before the High Court of Justice; where by his own singular Address and Behaviour, and his Friends having wrought by Money upon some of the Witnesses to absent themselves, He was by one single Voice acquitted; and after a longer Detention in Prison by the Indignation of *Cromwell*, who well knew his Guilt, and against the Rules and Forms of their own Justice, He was discharged, after most of his Associates were publickly and barbarously put to several Kinds of Death. And He no sooner found himself at Liberty, than he engaged in new Intrigues, how He might destroy that Government that was so near destroying him. The State of the Kingdom was indeed altered, and He had Encouragement to hope well, which former Undertakers, and himself in his, had been without. *Cromwell* had entered into a War with *Spain*; and the King was received and permitted to live in *Flanders*, with some Exhibition from that King for his Support, and Assurance of an Army to embark for *England*, (which made a great Noise, and raised the broken Hearts of his Friends after so many Distresses) which his Majesty was contented should be generally reputed to be greater and in more Forwardness, than there was Cause for. He had likewise another Advantage much superiour and of more Importance than the other, by the Death of *Cromwell*, which fell out without or beyond Expectation, which seemed to put an End to all his Stratagems, and to dissolve the whole Frame of Government in the three Kingdoms, and to open many Doors to the King to enter upon

The Continuation of the Life of

deceived by a Man, whom all the Kingdom would have trusted. The ridiculous Dethroning of *Richard* by the Army, and the reassembling that Part of the old Parliament which was called the *Rump*, and which was more terrible than any single Person could be, because They presently returned into their old Track, and renewed their former Rigour against their old, more than their new Enemies, rather advanced than restrained this Combination; too much being known to too many to be secure any other way than by pursuing it. So the King and Duke according to their former Resolution went to *Calais* and *Boulogne*, and prepared as well to make a Descent into *Kent* with such Numbers of Men, as the Condition They were in would permit. How, many of those Designs came to be wonderfully and even miraculously disappointed, and *Sir George Booth* defeated by *Lambert*, are particularly set down by those who have taken upon them to mention the Transactions of those Times. And from thence the Universality of all who were, or were suspected to be, of the King's Party, were according to Custom imprisoned, or otherwise cruelly entreated; and thereupon a new Fire kindled amongst themselves: They who had done Nothing reproaching them who had brought that Storm upon them; and They who had been engaged, more loudly and bitterly cursing the other as Deferters of the Kings, and the Cause of the Ruin of his Cause through their Want of Courage, or what was worse, of Affection. And so all Mens Mouths were opened wider to accuse and defame each other, than to defend their own Integrity and their Lives.

The unhappy Constitution of the King's Friends at his Return farther exemplified. I HAVE thought myself obliged to renew the Memory of all these Particulars, that the several Vicissitudes and Stages may be known, by which the Jealousies, Murmurs and Disaffections, in the Royal Party amongst themselves and against each other, had mounted to that Height, which the King found them at when He returned; when in Truth very few Men of active Minds,

Minds, and upon whom He could depend in any sudden Occasion that might probably press him, can be named, who had any Confidence in each other. All Men were full of bitter Reflections upon the Actions and Behaviour of others, or of Excuses and Apologies for themselves for what They thought might be charged upon them. The woful Vice of Drinking, *Many of them much addicted to Drinking.* from the Uneasiness of their Fortune, or the Necessity of frequent Meetings together, for which Taverns were the most secure Places, had spread itself very far in that *Classis* of Men, as well as upon other Parts of the Nation, in all Counties; and had exceedingly weakened the Parts, and broken the Understandings of many, who had formerly competent Judgments, and had been in all Respects fit for any Trust; and had prevented the Growth of Parts in many young Men, who had good Affections, but had been from their Entering into the World so corrupted with that Excess, and other Licence of the Time, that They only made much Noise, and, by their extravagant and scandalous Debauches, brought many Calumnies and Disestimation upon that Cause which They pretended to advance. They who had suffered much in their Fortunes and by frequent Imprisonments and Sequestrations and Compositions, expected large Recompenses and Reparations in Honours which They could not support, or Offices which They could not discharge, or Lands and Money which the King had not to give; as all dispassioned Men knew the Conditions which the King was obliged to perform, and that the Act of Indemnity discharged all those Forfeitures, which could have been applied to their Benefit: And therefore They who had been without Comparison the greatest Sufferers in their Fortunes, and in all Respects had merited most, never made any inconvenient Suits to the King, but modestly left the Memory and Consideration of all They had done or undergone, to his Majesty's own gracious Reflections.

and Relations; and They who agreed in Nothing else, were at Unity and of one Mind, in telling ridiculous Stories to the King himself of his Vanity and Behaviour, and laying those Aspersions upon him, as were most like to lessen the King's Opinion of him, and to persuade him that the Recompenses He had already received, were abundantly more than the Services He had performed: Which Kind of Insinuations from several Persons, who seemed not to do it by Concert, together with some Prejudice the noble Person did himself by some unseasonable Importunities, as if He thought He had deserved very much, did for some Time draw a more ungracious Countenance from the King towards him, than his own Nature disposed him to, or than the other's singular and useful Activity, though liable to some Levity or Vanity, did deserve; and which the same Persons, who procured it, made Use of against those who were in most Trust about the King, as Arguments of the little Esteem They had of those who had done the King most Service, when a Man of so eminent Merit, as Mr. *Mordaunt*, was so totally neglected; and did all They could to infuse the same Apprehensions into him. When the Truth is, most Men were affected, and more grieved and discontented, for any Honour and Preferment which They saw conferred upon another Man, than for being disappointed in their own particular Expectations; and looked upon every Obligation bestowed upon another Man, how meritorious soever, as upon a Reproach to them, and an Upbraiding of their Want of Merit.

The perplexing State of the King's Friends much affected his Spirits.

THIS unhappy Temper and Constitution of the Royal Party, with whom He had always intended to have made a firm Conjunction against all Accidents and Occurrences which might happen at home or from abroad, did wonderfully displease and trouble the King; and, with the other Perplexities which are mentioned before, did so break his Mind, and had that Operation upon his Spirits, that finding He could not propose

pose any such Method to himself, by which He might extricate himself out of those many Difficulties and Labyrinths in which He was involved, nor expedite those important Matters which depended upon the Good-Will and Dispatch of the Parliament, which would proceed by its own Rules and with its accustomed Formalities, He grew more disposed to leave all Things to their natural Course, and God's Providence; and by Degrees unbent his Mind from the knotty and ungrateful Part of his Business, grew more remiss in his Application to it, and indulged to his Youth and Appetite that License and Satisfaction that it desired, and for which He had Opportunity enough; and could not be without Ministers abundant for any such Negotiations; the Time itself; and the young People thereof of either Sex having been educated in all the Liberty of Vice without Reprehension or Restraint. All Relations were confounded by the several Sects in Religion, which discountenanced all Forms of Reverence and Respect, as Reliques and Marks of Superstition. Children asked not Blessing of their Parents; nor did They concern themselves in the Education of their Children, but were well content that They should take any Course to maintain themselves, that They might be free from that Expense. The young Women conversed without any Circumspection or Modesty, and frequently met at Taverns and common Eatinghouses; and They who were stricter and more severe in their Comportment, became the Wives of the seditious Preachers or of Officers of the Army. The Daughters of noble and illustrious Families bestowed themselves upon the Divines of the Time, or other low and unequal Matches. Parents had no Manner of Authority over their Children, nor Children any Obedience or Submission to their Parents;

⁽²²⁾ but *every one did that which was good in his own Eyes*. This unnatural Antipathy had its first Rise from the beginning of the Rebellion, when the Fathers and Sons engaged themselves in the contrary Parties, the

He gives himself up to his Pleasures.

Wickedness of all Kinds introduced by the late Anarchy,

one choosing to serve the King, and the other the Parliament; which Division and Contradiction of Affections was afterwards improved to mutual Animosities and direct Malice, by the Help of the Preachers and the several Factions in Religion, or by the Absence of all Religion: So that there were never such Examples of Impiety between such Relations in any Age of the World, Christian or Heathen, as that wicked Time from the Beginning of the Rebellion to the King's Return; of which the Families of *Hotbarn* and *Vane* are sufficient Instances, though other more illustrious Houses may be named, where the same accursed Fruit was too plentifully gathered, and too notorious to the World. The Relation between Masters and Servants had been long since dissolved by the Parliament, that their Army might be increased by the Prentices against their Masters Consent, and that They might have Intelligence of the secret Meetings and Transactions in those Houses and Families which were not devoted to them; from whence issued the foulest Treacheries and Perfidiousness that were ever practised: And the Blood of the Master was frequently the Price of the Servant's Villany.

CROMWELL had been most strict and severe in the forming the Manners of his Army, and in chastising all Irregularities; insomuch that sure there was never any such Body of Men, so without Rapine, Swearing, Drinking, or any other Debauchery, but the Wickedness of their Hearts: And all Persons cherished by him were of the same Leven, and to common Appearance without the Practice of any of those Vices, which were most infamous to the People, and which drew the publick Hatred upon those who were notoriously guilty of them. But then He was well pleased with the most scandalous Lives of those who pretended to be for the King, and wished that all his were such, and took all the Pains He could that They might be generally thought to be such; whereas in Truth the greatest Part of those who were guilty of those Disorders,

orders, were young Men, who had never seen the King, and had been born and bred in those corrupt Times *when there was no King in Israel*. He was equally delighted with the Luxury and Voluptuousness of the *Presbyterians*, who in Contempt of the Thrift, Sordidness and affected ill Breeding of the *Independants*, thought it became them to live more generously, and were not strict in restraining or mortifying the unruly and inordinate Appetite of Flesh and Blood, but indulged it with too much and too open Scandal, from which He reaped no small Advantage; and wished all those who were not his Friends should not only be infected, but given over to the Practice of the most odious Vices and Wickedness.

IN a Word, the Nation was corrupted from that Integrity, good Nature and Generosity that had been peculiar to it, and for which it had been signal and celebrated throughout the World; in the Room whereof the vilest Craft and Dissembling had succeeded. The Tenderness of the Bowels which is the Quintessence of Justice and Compassion, the very Mention of good Nature, was laughed at and looked upon as the Mark and Character of a Fool; and a Roughness of Manners, or Hardheartedness and Cruelty was affected. In the Place of Generosity, a vile and fordid Love of Money was entertained as the truest Wisdom, and any Thing lawful that would contribute towards being rich. There was a total Decay, or rather a final Expiration, of all Friendship; and to dissuade a Man from any Thing He affected, or to reprove him for any Thing He had¹³ done amiss, or to advise him to do any Thing He had no Mind to do, was thought an Impertinence unworthy a wise Man, and received with Reproach and Contempt. These Dilapidations and Ruins of the ancient Candour and Discipline were not taken enough to Heart, and repaired with that early Care and Severity that they might have been; for they were not then incorrigible; but by the Remissness of applying Remedies

medies to some, and the Unwariness in giving a Kind of Countenance to others, too much of that Poison insinuated itself into Minds not well fortified against such Infection: So that much of the Malignity was transplanted instead of being extinguished, to the Corruption of many wholesome Bodies, which, being corrupted, spread the Diseases more powerfully and more mischievously.

THAT the King might be the more vacant to those Thoughts and Divertisements which pleased him best, He appointed the Chancellor and some other, to have frequent Consultations with such Members of the Parliament, who were most able and willing to serve him, and to concert all the Ways and Means, by which the Transactions in the Houses might be carried with the more Expedition, and attended with the best Success, The daily Conferences proved very beneficial to his Majesty's Service; the Members of both Houses being very willing to receive Advice and Direction, and to pursue what They were directed; and all Things were done there in good Order, and succeeded well.

*The old Course
of Justice re-
stored.*

All the Courts of Justice in *Westminster-Hall* were presently filled with grave and learned Judges, who had either deserted their Practice and Profession during all the rebellious Times, or had given full Evidence of their Affection to the King and the established Laws in many weighty Instances: And They were then quickly sent in their several Circuits, to administer Justice to the People according to the old Forms of Law, which was universally received and submitted to with all possible Joy and Satisfaction. All Commissions of the Peace were renewed, and the Names of those Persons inserted therein, who had been most eminent Sufferers for the King, and were known to have entire Affections for his Majesty and the Laws; though it was not possible, but some would get and continue in, who were of more doubtful Inclinations, by their not being known to him whose Province it was to depute them. Denied it cannot be, that there appeared,

appeared, sooner than was thought possible, a general Settlement in the civil Justice of the Kingdom; that no Man complained without Remedy, and every Man *dwelt again under the Shadow of his own Vine*, without any Complaint of Injustice and Oppression.

THE King exposed himself with more Condescension than was necessary to Persons of all Conditions, heard all that They had a Mind to say to him, and gave them such Answers as for the present seemed full of Grace. He was too well pleased to hear both the Men and the Women of all Factions and Fancies in Religion discourse in their own Method, and enlarged himself in Debate with them; which made every one believe that They were more favoured by him than They had Cause: Which Kind of Liberty, though at first it was accompanied with Acclamations and Acknowledgment of his being a Prince of rare Parts and Affability, yet it was attended afterwards with ill Consequences, and gave many Men Opportunity to declare and publish, that the King had said many Things to them which He had never said, and made many Concessions and Promises to them which He had never uttered or thought upon.

THE Chancellor was generally thought to have most Credit with his Master, and most Power in the ^{*The Chancellor principally engaged in the*} Counsels, because the King referred all Matters of ^{*publick Transactions.*} what Kind soever to him. And whosoever repaired to him for his Direction in any Business was sent to the Chancellor, not only because He had a great Confidence in his Integrity, having been with him so many Years, and of whose indefatigable Industry He and all Men had great Experience; but because He saw those Men, whom He was as willing to trust, and who had at least an equal Share in his Affections, more inclined to Ease and Pleasure, and willing that the Weight of the Work should lie on the Chancellor's Shoulders, with whom They had an entire Friendship, and knew well that They should with more Ease be consulted by him in all Matters of Importance.

Nor

Nor was it possible for him, at the first Coming, to avoid the being engaged in all the Counsels, of how distinct a Nature soever, because He had been best acquainted with all Transactions whilst the King was abroad; and therefore Communication with him in all Things was thought necessary by those, who were to have any Part in them: Besides that He continued still Chancellor of the Exchequer by Virtue of the Grant formerly made to him by the last King, during whose Time He executed that Office, but resolved to surrender it into the King's Hand as soon as his Majesty should resolve on whom to confer it; He proposing Nothing to himself, but to be left at Liberty to intend only the Discharge of his own Office, which He thought himself unequal to, and hoped only to improve his Talent that Way by a most diligent Application, well knowing the great Abilities of those who had formerly sat in that Office, and that They found it required their full Time and all their Faculties. And therefore He did most heartily desire to meddle with Nothing but that Province, which, though in itself and the constant Perquisites of it not sufficient to support the Dignity of it, yet was then upon the King's Return; and, after it had been so many Years without a lawful Officer, would unquestionably bring in Money enough to be a Foundation to a future Fortune competent to his Ambition, and enough to provoke the Envy of many, who believed They deserved better than He. And that this was the Temper and Resolution He brought with him into *England*, and how unwillingly He departed from it, will evidently appear by two or three Instances which shall be given in their proper Place. However, He could not expect that Freedom, till the Council should be settled (into which the King admitted all who had been Counsellors to his Father and had not eminently forfeited that Promotion by their Revolt, and many of those who had been and still were recommended by the General, amongst whom there were some, who would
not

not have been received upon any other Title) and until those Officers could be settled, who might take particular Care of their several Provinces.

THE King had upon great Deliberation whilst He was beyond the Seas, after his Return appeared in View, firmly resolved to reform those Excesses which were known to be in the great Offices, especially in those of his Houshold, whilst the Places were vacant, and to reform all extravagant Expenses there; and first himself to gratify those who had followed and served him, in settling them in such inferior Offices and Places, as Custom had put in the Disposal of the great Officers when they should become vacant after their Admission. And of this Kind He had made many Promises, and given many Warrants under his Sign Manual to Persons who to his own Knowledge had merited those Obligations. But most of those Predeterminations, and many other Resolutions of that Kind, vanished and expired in the Jollity of the Return, and new Inclinations and Affections seemed to be more seasonable. The General, who was the sole (25) Pillar of the King's Confidence, had by the Parliament been invested (before the King's Return) in all the Offices and Commands which *Cromwell* had enjoyed. He was Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and General of all the Armies and Forces raised, or to be raised, in the three Kingdoms; and it was not fit that He should be degraded from either upon his Majesty's Arrival: Therefore all Diligence was used in dispatching Grants of all those Commands to him under the Great Seal of *England*. And that He might be obliged to be always near his Majesty's Person, He was presently sworn Gentleman of the Bedchamber; and might choose what Office He liked best in the Court, whilst Titles of Honour were preparing by the Attorney, and Particulars of Lands enquired after by the Auditors and Receivers, which in all Respects might raise him to that Height which would most please him. He made Choice to be Master of the Horse,

The General confirmed in the Offices assigned him by the Parliament.

Also sworn Gentleman of the Bedchamber, and Master of the Horse.

Trust and Confidence in which He was placed. With his, the two other white Staves were disposed of to those to whom they were designed, when the King was Prince of *Wales*, by his Father: And all other inferior Officers were made, who were to take Care of the Expenses of the House, and were a great Part of it.

AND thus the King's House quickly appeared in its full Lustre, the Eating and Drinking very grateful to all Men, and the Charge and Expence of it much exceeding the Precedents of the most luxurious Times; and all this before there was any Provision of ready Money, or any Assignment of a future Fund, to discharge or support it. All Men were ready to deliver their Goods upon Trust, the Officers too remiss in computing the Disbursements; insomuch as the Debts contracted by those Excesses in less than the first Year broke all the Measures in that Degree, that they could not suddenly be retrenched for the future; and the Debt itself was not discharged in many Years.

THE King had in his Purpose, long before his Return, to make the Earl of *Southampton* (who was the most valued and esteemed of all the Nobility, and generally thought worthy of any Honour or Office) Lord High Treasurer of *England*; but He desired first to see some Revenue settled by the Parliament, and that Part of the old, which had been sold and dispersed by extravagant Grants and Sales, reduced into the old Channel, and regularly to be received and paid, and the Customs to be put in such Order (which were not yet granted, and only continued by Orders as illegal as the late Times had been accustomed to, and to the Authority whereof He had no Mind to administer) before He was willing to receive the Staff. And so the Office of the Treasury was by Commission executed by several Lords of the Council, whereof the Chancellor, as well by the Dignity of his Place, as by his still being Chancellor of the Exchequer, was one, and so engaged in the putting the Customs likewise
into

into Commissioners Hands, and settling all the other Branches of the Revenue in such Manner as was thought most reasonable; in all Debates whereof his Majesty himself was still present, and approved the Conclusion. But after a Month or two spent in this Method, in the Crowd of so much Business of several Natures, the King found so little Expedition that He thought it best to determine that Commission, and so gave the Staff to the Earl of *Southampton*, and made him Treasurer. And the Chancellor at the same Time surrendering his Office of Chancellor of the Exchequer into the King's Hands, his Majesty upon the humble Desire of the Earl conferred that Office upon Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper*, who had married his Niece, and whose Parts well enough qualified him for the Discharge thereof; though some other Qualities of his, as well known, brought no Advantage to his Majesty by that Promotion. And from this Time the Chancellor would never intermeddle in the Business of the Exchequer, nor admit any Applications to him in it: However, the Friendship was so great between the Treasurer and him, and so notorious from an ancient Date, and from a joint Confidence in each other in the Service of the last King, that neither of them concluded any Matter of Importance without consulting with the other. And so the Treasurer, Marquis of *Ormond*, the General, with the two Secretaries of State, were of that secret Committee with the Chancellor, which, under the Notion of foreign Affairs, were appointed by the King to consult all his Affairs before they came to a public Debate; and in which there could not be a more united Concurrence of Judgments and Affections.

The Earl of Southampton made Treasurer.

And Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper Chancellor of the Exchequer.

YET it was the Chancellor's Misfortune to be thought to have the greatest Credit with the King, for the Reasons mentioned before, and which for some Time seemed to be without Envy, by Reason of his many Years Service of the Crown; and constant Fidelity to the same, and his long Attendance upon the Person of his

had been just in him; or if He had withdrawn his Grace and Favour from him, and left him to be sacrificed by the Envy and Rage of others; though at this Time He was not thought to have many Enemies, nor indeed any who were Friends to any other honest Men. But the King's own Knowledge of his Innocence, and thereupon his gracious Condescension and Interposition, diverting any rough Proceeding, and so a contrary Effect to what hath been mentioned having been produced from thence; the Chancellor's Greatness seemed to be thereby confirmed, his Family established above the Reach of common Envy, and his Fortune to be in a growing and prosperous Condition not like to be shaken. And after many Years Possession of this Prosperity, an unexpected Gust of Displeasure took again its Rise from this Original, and overwhelmed him with Variety and Succession of Misfortunes.

THE Chancellor, as soon as the King was at *Whiteball*, had sent for his Daughter, having a Design presently to marry her; to which Purpose He had an Overture from a noble Family, on the Behalf of a well-bred hopeful young Gentleman, who was the Heir of it. His Daughter quickly arrived at her Father's House, to his great Joy, having always had a great Affection for her; and She being his eldest Child, He had more Acquaintance with her than with any of his Children; and being now of an Age fit for Marriage, He was well pleased that He had an Opportunity to place her in such a Condition, as with God's Blessing was like to yield her much Content.

The Duke's Declaration of it to the King. She had not been long in *England*, when the Duke informed the King "of the Affection and Engagement that had been long between them; that They had been long contracted, and that She was with Child:" And therefore with all imaginable Importunity He begged his Majesty's Leave and Permission upon his Knees "that He might publicly marry her, in such a Manner as his Majesty thought necessary for the
"Con-

"Consequence thereof." The King was much troubled with it, and more with his Brother's Passion, which was expressed in a very wonderful Manner and with many Tears, protesting "that if his Majesty
 29) "should not give his Consent, He would immediately leave the Kingdom, and must spend his Life in "foreign Parts." His Majesty was very much perplexed to resolve what to do: He knew the Chancellor so well, that He concluded that He was not privy to it, nor would ever approve it; and yet that it might draw much Prejudice upon him, by the Jealousy of those who were not well acquainted with his Nature. He presently sent for the Marquis of *Ormond* and the Earl of *Southampton*, who He well knew were his Bosom-Friends, and informed them at large and of all Particulars which had passed from the Duke to him, and commanded them presently to see for the Chancellor to come to his own Chamber at *Whiteball*, where They would meet him upon a Business of great Importance, which the King had commended to them for their joint Advice. They no sooner met, than the Marquis of *Ormond* told the Chancellor, "that He had a Matter to inform him of, that He doubted would give him much Trouble;" and therefore advised him to compose himself to hear it: And then told him, "that the Duke of *York* had owned a great Affection for his Daughter to the King, and that He much doubted that She was with Child by the Duke, and that the King required the Advice of them and of him what He was to do."

The King sends two of the Chancellor's Bosom Friends to open the Matter to him.

THE Manner of the Chancellor's receiving this Advertisement made it evident enough, that He was struck with it to the Heart, and had never had the least Jealousy or Apprehension of it. He broke out into a very immoderate Passion against the Wickedness of his Daughter, and said with all imaginable Earnestness, "that as soon as He came Home, He would turn her out of his House, as a Strumpet,

The Chancellor struck with it to the Heart.

*And breaks
out into a very
immoderate
Passion.*

“to shift for herself, and would never see her again.” They told him, “that his Passion was too violent to administer good Counsel to him, that They thought that the Duke was married to his Daughter, and that there were other Measures to be taken, than those which the Disorder He was in had suggested to him.” Whereupon He fell into new Commotions, and said, “if that were true, He was well prepared to advise what was to be done: That He had much rather his Daughter should be the Duke’s Whore, than his Wife: In the former Case Nobody could blame him for the Resolution He had taken, for He was not obliged to keep a Whore for the greatest Prince alive; and the Indignity to himself He would submit to the good Pleasure of God. But if there were any Reason to suspect the other, He was ready to give a positive Judgment, in which He hoped their Lordships would concur with him; that the King should immediately cause the Woman to be sent to the *Tower*, and to be cast into a Dungeon, under so strict a Guard, that no Person living should be admitted to come to her; and then that an Act of Parliament should be immediately passed for the cutting off her Head, to which He would not only give his Consent, but would very willingly be the first Man that should propose it:” And whoever knew the Man, will believe that He said all this very heartily.

In this Point of Time the King entered the Room, and sat down at the Table; and perceiving by his Countenance the Agony the Chancellor was in, and his swollen Eyes from whence a Flood of Tears were fallen, He asked the other Lords, “what They had done, and whether They had resolved on any Thing.” The Earl of *Southampton* said, “his Majesty must consult with soberer Men; that He” (pointing to the Chancellor) “was mad, and had proposed such extravagant Things, that He was no more to be consulted with.” Whereupon his Majesty

jeſty looking upon him with a wonderful Benignity, ſaid, “Chancellor, I knew this Buſineſs would trouble you; and therefore I appointed your two Friends to confer firſt with you upon it, before I would ſpeak with you myſelf: But You muſt now lay aſide all Paſſion that diſturbs you, and conſider that this Buſineſs will not do itſelf; that it will quickly take Air; and therefore it is fit that I firſt reſolve what to do, before other Men uncalled preſume to give their Counſel: Tell me therefore what You would have me do, and I will follow your Advice.” Then his Maſteſty enlarged upon the Paſſion of his Brother, and the Expreſſions He had often uſed, “that He was not capable of having any other Wife, and the like.” Upon which the Chancellor aroſe, and with a little Compoſedneſs ſaid, “Sir, I hope I need make no Apology to you for myſelf, and of my own in this Matter, upon which I look with ſo much Deſtation, that though I could have wiſhed, that your Brother had not thought it fit to have put this Diſgrace upon me, I had much rather ſubmit and bear it with all Humility, than that it ſhould be repaired by making her his Wife; the Thought whereof I do ſo much abominate, that I had much rather ſee her dead, with all the Infamy that is due to her Preſumption.” And then He repeated all that He had before ſaid to the Lords, of ſending her preſently to the *Tower*, and the reſt; and concluded, “Sir, I do upon all my Oaths which I have taken to you to give you faithful Counſels, and from all the ſincere Gratitude I ſtand obliged to you for ſo many Obligations, renew this Counſel to you, and do beſeech you to purſue it, as the only Expedient that can free you from the Evils that this Buſineſs will otherwiſe bring upon you.” And obſerving by the King’s Countenance, that He was not pleaſed with his Advice, He continued and ſaid, “I am the dulleſt Creature alive, if, having been with your Maſteſty ſo many Years, I do not know your Infirmities bet-

“ter than other Men. You are of too easy and gentle a Nature to contend with those rough Affronts, which the Iniquity and Licence of the late Times is like to put upon you, before it be subdued and reformed. The Presumption all Kinds of Men have upon your Temper is too notorious to all Men, and lamented by all who wish you well: And, trust me, an Example of the highest Severity in a Case that so nearly concerns you, and that relates to the Person who is nearest to you, will be so seasonable, that your Reign, during the remaining Part of your Life, will be the easier to you, and all Men will take Heed, how They impudently offend you.”

He had scarce done speaking, when the Duke of York came in; whereupon the King spake of some other Business, and shortly after went out of the Room with his Brother, whom (as was shortly known) He informed of all that the Chancellor had said, who, as soon as He came to his House, sent his Wife to command his Daughter to keep her Chamber, and not to admit any Visits; whereas before She had always been at Dinner and Supper, and had much Company resorting to her: Which was all that He thought fit to do, upon the first Assault, and till He had slept upon it, (which He did very unquietly) and reflected upon what was like to be the Effect of so extravagant a Cause. And this was quickly known to the Duke, who was exceedingly offended at it, and complained to the King, “as of an Indignity offered to him.” And the next Morning the King chid the Chancellor for proceeding with so much Precipitation, and required him “to take off that Restraint, and to leave her to the Liberty She had been accustomed to.” To which He replied, “that her having not discharged the Duty of a Daughter ought not to deprive him of the Authority of a Father; and therefore He must humbly beg his Majesty not to interpose his Commands, against his doing any Thing that his own Dignity required: That He only expected what
“his

"his Majesty would do upon the Advice He had humbly offered to him, and when He saw that, He would himself proceed as He was sure would be-
"come him:" Nor did He take off any of the Re-
straint He had imposed. Yet He discovered after, that even in that Time the Duke had found Ways to come to her, and to stay whole Nights with her, by the Administration of those who were not suspected by him, and who had the Excuse, "that They knew
"that They were married."

THIS Subject was quickly the Matter of all Mens Discourse, and did not produce those Murmurs and discontented Reflections, which were expected. The Parliament was sitting, and took not the least Notice of it; nor could it be discerned, that many were scandalized at it. The Chancellor received the same Respects from all Men, which He had been accustomed to. And the Duke himself, in the House of Peers, frequently sate by him upon the Wool Sack, that He might the more easily confer with him upon the Matters which were debated, and receive his Advice how to behave himself; which made all Men believe, that there had been a good Understanding between them. And yet it is very true, that, in all that Time, the Duke never spake one Word to him of that Affair. The King spake every Day about it, and told the Chancellor, "that He must behave himself wisely, "for that the Thing was remediless; and, that his "Majesty knew that They were married, which would "quickly appear to all Men, who knew that Nothing "could be done upon it." In this Time the Chancellor had conferred with his Daughter, without any Thing of Indulgence, and not only discovered, that They were unquestionably married, but by whom, and who were present at it, who would be ready to avow it; which pleased him not, though it diverted him from using some of that Rigour, which He intended. And He saw no other Remedy could be applied,

This Affair produces not those Murmurs and Discontents, the Chancellor expected.

plied, but that, which He had proposed to the King, who thought of Nothing like it.

At this Time, there was News of the Princess Royal's Embarkation in *Holland*, which obliged the King and the Duke of *York* to make a Journey to *Dever* to receive her, who came for no other Reason, but to congratulate with the King, her Brother, and to have her Share in the publick Joy. The Morning that They began their Journey, the King and the Duke came to the Chancellor's House; and the King, after He had spoken to him of some Business that was to be done in his Absence, going out of the Room, the Duke stayed behind, and whispered the Chancellor in the Ear, because there were others at a little Distance, "that He knew that He had heard of the Business between him and his Daughter, and of which He confessed He ought to have spoken with him before; but that when He returned from *Dever*, He would give him full Satisfaction: In the mean Time," He desired him, "not to be offended with his Daughter." To which the Chancellor made no other Answer, than "that it was a Matter too great for him to speak of."

When the Princess Royal came to the Town, there grew to be a great Silence in that Affair. The Duke said Nothing to the Chancellor, nor came nor sent to his Daughter, as He had constantly used to do. And it was industriously published about the Town, that that Business was broken off, and that the Duke was resolved never to think more of it. The Queen had before written a very sharp Letter to the Duke,⁽³⁾ full of Indignation, that He should have so low Thoughts as to marry such a Woman; to whom He shewed the Letter, as not moved by it. And now She sent the King Word, "that She was on the Way to *England*, to prevent, with her Authority, so great a Stain and Dishonour to the Crown;" and used many Threats and passionate Expressions upon the Subject. The Chancellor sat unconcerned in all the Rumours

*The Queen
Matter greatly
by interposed at
it.*

Rumours which were spread, "that the Queen was coming with a Purpose to complain to the Parliament against the Chancellor, and to apply the highest Remedies to prevent so great a Mischief."

In the mean Time it was reported abroad, that the Duke had discovered some Disloyalty in the Lady; which He had never suspected, but had now so full Evidence of it, that He was resolved never more to see her; and that He was not married. And all his Family, whereof the Lord *Berkley* and his Nephew were the chief, who had long hated the Chancellor, spake very loudly and scandalously of it. The King carried himself with extraordinary Grace towards the Chancellor, and was with him more, and spake upon all Occasions and before all Persons more graciously of him, than ever. He told him with much Trouble, "that his Brother was abused; and that there was a wicked Conspiracy set on Foot by Villains, which, in the End, must prove of more Dishonour to the Duke, than to any Body else."

The King carries himself with extraordinary Grace towards the Chancellor.

THE Queen was now ready to embark, inflamed and hastened by this Occasion; and it was fit for the King and the Duke, to wait on her at the Shore. But before his Majesty's Going, He resolved of himself to do a Grace to the Chancellor, that should publish, how far He was from being shaken in his Favour towards him, and to do it with such Circumstances, as gave it great Lusture. From the Time of his Coming into *England*, He had often offered the Chancellor to make him a Baron, and told him, "that He was assured by many of the Lords, that it was most necessary for his Service in the Parliament." But He had still refused it, and besought his Majesty not to think of it; that it would increase the Envy against him, if He should confer that Honour upon him so soon; but that hereafter, when his Majesty's Affairs should be settled, and He, out of the extraordinary Perquisites of his Office, should be able to make some Addition to his small Fortune,

"He

Makes him a
Present of
20.000
Pounds.

“He would with that Humility that became him, receive that Honour from him.” The King, in few Days after, coming to him, and being alone with him in his Cabinet, at going away gave him a little Billet into his Hand, that contained a Warrant of his own Handwriting to Sir *Stephen Fox*, to pay to the Chancellor the Sum of twenty thousand Pounds; which was Part of the Money, which the Parliament had presented to the King at the *Hague*, and for which He had been compelled to take Bills of Exchange again from *Amsterdam* upon *London*; which was only known to the King, the Chancellor, and Sir *Stephen Fox*, who was intrusted to receive it, as He had done all the King’s Monies for many Years beyond the Seas. This Bounty flowing immediately from the King, at such a melancholick Conjunction, and of which Nobody could have Notice, could not but much raise the Spirits of the Chancellor. Nor did the King’s Goodness rest here, but the Night before He began his Journey towards the Queen, He sent for the Attorney General, whom He knew to be most devoted to the Chancellor, and told him, “that He must intrust him in an Affair, “that He must not impart to the Chancellor;” and then gave him a Warrant signed for the Creation of him a Baron, which he commanded “to be ready to “pass the Seal, against the Hour of his Majesty’s “Return, and He would then see it sealed himself: (33 “But if the Chancellor came first to know it, He “would use great Importunity to stop it.” The Attorney said, “it would be impossible to conceal it from “him, because, without his Privy and Direction, “He knew not what Title to give him for his Barony.” The King replied with Warmth, “that “He should confer with some of his Friends of the “Way; but that He would take it ill of him, if “there were any Delay in it, and if it were not ready “for the Seal at the Time of his Return, which “would be in few Days.” The Attorney came to the Chancellor and told him, “He would break a
“Trust

"Trust to do him a Service; and therefore He presumed, that He would not be so unjust to let him suffer by it:" And then told him all that had passed between the King and him. And the Chancellor confessed, "that the King's obliging Manner of Proceeding, and the Conjunction in which this Honour was given," though He had before refused it with Obstinacy, "made it now very grateful to him:" And so without Hesitation He told him what Title He would assume. And all was ready against the King's Return, and signed by him, and sealed the same Night. *And creates him a Baron.*

THE Queen had expressed her Indignation to the King and Duke, with her natural Passion, from the Time of their Meeting; and the Duke had asked her Pardon, "for having placed his Affection so unequally, of which He was sure there was now an End; that He was not married, and had now such Evidence of her Unworthiness, that He should no more think of her." And it was now avowedly said, that Sir Charles Berkley, who was Captain of his Guard, and in much more Credit and Favour with the Duke than his Uncle, (though a young Man of a dissolute Life, and prone to all Wickedness in the Judgment of all sober Men) had informed the Duke; "that He was bound in Conscience, to preserve him from taking to Wife a Woman so wholly unworthy of him; that He himself had lain with her; and that for his Sake He would be content to marry her, though He knew well the Familiarity the Duke had with her." *Sir Charles Berkley introduces the Duchess of York's Reputation.* This Evidence, with so solemn Oaths presented by a Person so much loved and trusted by him, made a wonderful Impression in the Duke; and now confirmed by the Commands of his Mother, as He had been before prevailed upon by his Sister, He resolved to deny that He was married, and never to see the Woman again, who had been so false to him. *Upon which the Duke resolves to deny his Marriage.* And the Queen being satisfied with this Resolution, They came all to London, with a full Hope that They should prevail to the utter Overthrow of the Chancellor; the King

to meet his Sister, finding the Chancellor one Day in the Privy Lodgings, whispered him in the Ear, "that He would be glad to confer with him in his Lodging," whither He was then going. The other immediately followed; and being come thither, the Duke sent all his Servants out of Distance; and then told him with much Warmth, "what He had been informed of his Purpose to complain to the Parliament against him, which He did not value or care for: However, if He should prosecute any such Course, it should be the worse for him;" implying some Threats, "what He would do, before He would bear such an Affront;" adding then, "that for his Daughter, She had behaved herself so foully (of which He had such Evidence as was as convincing as his own Eyes, and of which He could make no Doubt) that Nobody could blame him for his Behaviour towards her;" concluding with some other Threats, "that He should repent it, if He pursued his Intention of appealing to the Parliament."

As soon as the Duke discontinued his Discourse, the Chancellor told him, "that He hoped He would discover the Untruth of other Reports which had been made to him by the Falsehood of this, which had been raised without the least Ground or Shadow of Truth. That though He did not pretend to much Wisdom, yet no Man took him to be such a Fool, as He must be, if He intended to do such an Act as He was informed. That if his Highness had done any Thing towards or against him which He ought not to have done, there was One who is as much above him, as his Highness was above him, and who could both censure and punish it. For his own Part, He knew too well whose Son He was, and whose Brother He is, to behave himself towards him with less Duty and Submission than was due to him, and should be always paid by him." He said, "He was not concerned to vindicate his Daughter from any the most improbable Scandals
" and

“and Aspersions : She had disobliged and deceived him too much, for him to be over-confident, that She might not deceive any other Man : And therefore He would leave that likewise to God Almighty, upon whose Blessing He would always depend, whilst himself remained innocent, and no longer.” The Duke replied not, nor from that Time mentioned the Chancellor with any Displeasure ; and related to the King, and some other Persons, the Discourse that had passed, very exactly.

THERE did not after all this appear, in the Discourses of Men, any of that Humour and Indignation which was expected. On the contrary, Men of the greatest Name and Reputation spake of the Foulness of the Proceeding with great Freedom, and with all the Detestation imaginable against Sir *Charles Berkley*, whose Testimony Nobody believed ; not without some Censure of the Chancellor, for not enough appearing and prosecuting the Indignity : But He was not to be moved by any Instances, which He never afterwards repented. The Queen’s implacable Displeasure continued in the full Heighth, doing all She could to keep the Duke firm to his Resolution, and to give all Countenance to the Calumny. As before the Discovery of this Engagement of the Duke’s Affection, the Duke of *Glocester* had died of the Smallpox, to the extraordinary Grief of the King and the whole Kingdom ; so, at this Time, it pleased God to visit the Princess Royal with the same Disease, and of which She died within few Days ; having in her last Agonies expressed a Dislike of the Proceedings in that Affair, to which She had contributed too much. The Duke himself grew melancholick and dispirited, and cared not for Company, nor those Divertisements in which He formerly delighted : Which was observed by every Body, and which in the End wrought so far upon the Conscience of the lewd Informer, that He, Sir *Charles Berkley*, came to the Duke, and clearly declared to

*The Duke
grows melan-
cholick.*

*Sir Charles
Berkley con-
fesses the
Falseness of
his Charge
against the
Duchess.*

him; "that the general Discourse of Men, of what
"Inconvenience and Mischief, if not absolute Ruin,
"such a Marriage would be to his Royal Highness,
"had prevailed with him to use all the Power He
"had to dissuade him from it; and when He found
"He could not prevail with him, He had formed
"that Accusation, which He presumed could not but
"produce the Effect He wished; which He now con-
"fessed to be false, and without the least Ground;
"and that He was very confident of her Virtue:"
And therefore besought his Highness "to pardon a
"Fault, that was committed out of pure Devotion to
"him; and that He would not suffer him to be ruin-
"ed by the Power of those, whom He had so unwor-
"thily provoked; and of which He had so much
"Shame, that He had not Confidence to look upon
"them." The Duke found himself so much relieved
in that Part that most afflicted him, that He em-
braced him, and made a solemn Promise, "that He
"should not suffer in the least Degree in his own Af-
"fection, for what had proceeded so absolutely from
"his Good-Will to him; and that He would take
"so much Care of him, that in the compounding
"that Affair He should be so comprehended, that
"He should receive no Disadvantage."

*The Duke
greatly pleased
with this Con-
fession.*

AND now the Duke appeared with another Coun-
tenance, writ to her whom He had injured "that He
"would speedily visit her," and gave her Charge "to
"have a Care of his Son." He gave the King a full
Account of all, without concealing his Joy; and took
most Pleasure in conferring with them, who had seem-
ed least of his Mind when He had been most tran-
sporting, and who had always argued against the Pro-
bability of the Testimony which had wrought upon
him. The Queen was not pleased with this Change,
though the Duke did not yet own to her, that He
had altered his Resolution. She was always very
angry at the King's Coldness, who had been so far
from

from that Aversion which She expected, that He found Excuses for the Duke, and endeavoured to divert her Passions; and now pressed the Discovery of the Truth by Sir *Charles Berkley's* Confession, as a Thing that pleased him. They about her who had most inflamed and provoked her to the sharpest Resentment, appeared more calm in their Discourses, and either kept Silence, or spake to another Tune than They had done formerly, and wished that the Business was well composed; all which mightily increased the Queen's Passion. And having come to know, that the Duke had made a Visit at the Place She most abhorred, She brake into great Passion, and publickly declared, "that whenever that Woman *The Queen highly offended at this Change in the Duke.* should be brought into *Whitehall* by one Door, her Majesty would go out of it by another Door, and "never come into it again." And for several Days her Majesty would not suffer the Duke to be in her Presence; at least, if He came with the King, She forbore to speak to him, or to take any Notice of him. Nor could They, who had used to have most Credit with her, speak to her with any Acceptation; though They were all weary of the Distances They had kept, and discerned well enough where the Matter must end. And many desired to find some Expedient, how the Work might be facilitated, by some Application and Address from the Chancellor to the Queen: But He absolutely refused to make the least Advance towards it, or to contribute to her Indignation by putting himself into her Majesty's Presence. He declared, "that the Queen had great Reason for the Passion She expressed for the Indignity that had been done to her, "and which He would never endeavour to excuse; "and that as far as his low Quality was capable of "receiving an Injury from so great a Prince, He had "himself to complain of a Transgression, that exceeded the Limits of all Justice, divine and human."

THE Queen had made this Journey out of *France* into *England* much sooner than She intended, and only,

upon this Occasion, to prevent a Mischief She had great Reason to deprecate. And so, upon her Arrival, She had declared, "that She would stay a very short Time, being obliged to return into *France* for her Health, and to use the Waters of *Bourbon*, which had already done her much Good, that the ensuing Season would with God's Blessing make perfect." And the Time was now come, that Orders were sent for the Ships to attend her Embarkation at *Portsmouth*; and the Day was appointed, for the⁽³⁷⁾ beginning her Journey from *Whitehall*: So that the Duke's Affair, which He now took to Heart, was (as every Body thought) to be left in the State it was, at least under the Renunciation and Interdiction of a Mother. When on a sudden, of which Nobody then knew the Reason, her Majesty's Countenance and Discourse was changed; She treated the Duke with her usual Kindness, and confessed to him, "that the Business that had offended her so much She perceived was proceeded so far, that no Remedy could be applied to it; and therefore that She would trouble herself no farther in it, but pray to God to bless him, and that He might be happy:" So that the Duke had now Nothing to wish, but that the Queen would be reconciled to his Wife, who remained still at her Father's, where the King had visited her often; to which the Queen was not averse, and spake graciously of the Chancellor, and said, "She would be good Friends with him." But Both these required some Formalities; and They, who had behaved themselves the most disobligingly, expected to be comprehended in any Atonement that should be made. And it was exceedingly laboured, that the Chancellor would make the first Approach, by visiting the Earl of *St. Albans*; which He absolutely refused to do: And very well acquainted with the Arts of that Court, whereof Dissimulation was the Soul, did not believe that those Changes, for which He saw no reasonable Motive, could be real; until Abbot *Mountague* (who had so far

*Her Majesty
suddenly alters
her Behaviour.*

far complied with the Faction of that Court, as not to converse with an Enemy) visited him with all Openness, and told him, "that this Change in the Queen had proceeded from a Letter She had newly received from the Cardinal, in which He had plainly told her, *that She would not receive a Welcome in France, if She left her Sons in her Displeasure, and professed an Animosity against those Ministers, who were most trusted by the King. He extolled the Services done by the Chancellor, and advised her to comply with what could not be avoided, and to be perfectly reconciled to her Children, and to those who were nearly related to them or were trusted by them:* And that He did this in so powerful a Style, and with such powerful Reasons, that her Majesty's Passions were totally subdued. And this," He said, "was the Reason of the sudden Change, that every Body had observed; and therefore that He ought to believe the Sincerity of it, and to perform that Part which might be expected from him, in Compliance with the Queen's Inclinations to have a good Intelligence with him."

THE Chancellor had never looked upon the Abbot as his Enemy, and gave Credit to all He said, though He did little understand from what Fountain that Good-Will of the Cardinal had proceeded, who had never been propitious to him. He made all those Professions of Duty to the Queen that became him, and "how happy He should think himself in her Protection, which He had need of, and did with all Humility implore; and that He would gladly cast himself at her Majesty's Feet, when She would vouchsafe to admit it." But for the adjusting this, there was to be more Formality; for it was necessary that the Earl of *St. Albans* (between whom and the Chancellor there had never been any Friendship) should have some Part in this Composition, and do many good Offices towards it, which were to precede the final Conclusion. The Duke had brought Sir *Charles Berkley* to the Dutchess, at whose Feet He had

cast Himself, with all the Acknowledgment and Penitence He could exprefs ; and She, according to the Command of the Duke, accepted his Submission, and promised to forget the Offence. He came likewise to the Chancellor with those Professions which He could easily make : and the other was obliged to receive⁽³⁾ him civilly. And then his Uncle, the Lord *Berkley*, waited upon the Dutches; and afterwards visited her Father, like a Man (which He could not avoid) who had done very much towards the bringing so difficult a Matter to so good an End, and expected Thanks from all ; having that Talent in some Perfection, that after He had crossed and puzzled any Business as much as was in his Power, He would be thought the only Man, who had untied all Knots, and made the Way smooth, and removed all Obstructions.

The King and Duke greatly pleased with this Change in the Queen.

THE Satisfaction the King and the Duke had in this Disposition of the Queen was visible to all Men. And They Both thought the Chancellor too reserved in contributing his Part towards, or in meeting, the Queen's Favour, which He could not but discern was approaching towards him ; and that He did not entertain any Discourses, which had been by many entered upon to him upon that Subject, with that Cheerfulness and Serenity of Mind, that might justly be expected. And of this the Duke made an Observation, and a Kind of Complaint, to the King, who thereupon came one Day to the Chancellor's House ; and being alone with him, his Majesty told him many Particulars which had passed between him and the Queen, and the good Humour her Majesty was in : " That the next Day the Earl of *St. Albans* would visit him, and offer him his Service in accompanying him to the Queen, which He conjured him to receive with all Civility, and Expressions of the Joy He took in it ; in which," He told him, " He was observed to be too sullen, and that when all other Mens Minds appeared to be cheerful, his alone appeared to be more cloudy than it had been, " when

“when that Affair seemed most desperate; which was
“the more taken Notice of, because it was not natu-
“ral to him.”

THE Chancellor answered, “that He did not know,
“that He had failed in any Thing, that in good Man-
“ners or Decency could be required from him: But
“He confessed, that lately his Thoughts were more
“perplexed, and troublesome to himself, than they
“had ever been before; and therefore it was no Won-
“der, if his Looks were not the same they had used
“to be. That though He had been surprised to A-
“mazement, upon the first Notice of that Business;
“yet He had been shortly able to recollect himself,
“and, upon the Testimony of his own Conscience,
“to compose his Mind and Spirits, and without any
“Reluctancy to abandon any Thought of his Daugh-
“ter, and to leave her to that Misery She had de-
“served and brought upon herself. Nor did the Vi-
“cissitudes which occurred after in that Transaction,
“or the Displeasure and Menaces of the Duke, make
“any other Impression upon him, than to know how
“unable He was to enter into any Contest in that Mat-
“ter (which in all Respects was too difficult and su-
“perior to his Understanding and Faculties) and to
“leave it entirely to the Direction and Disposal of
“God Almighty: And in this Acquiescence He had
“enjoyed a Repose with much Tranquillity of Mind,
“being prepared to undergo any Misfortune that
“might befall him from thence. But that now He
“was awakened by other Thoughts and Reflections,
“which He could less range and govern. He saw
“those Difficulties removed, which He had thought
“insuperable; that his own Condition must be thought
“exalted above what He thought possible; and that
“He was far less able to bear the Envy that was un-
“avoidable, than the Indignation and Contempt that
“alone had threatened him. That his Daughter was
“now received in the Royal Family, the Wife of the
“King’s only Brother and the Heir Apparent of the
“Crown.

"Crown, whilst his Majesty himself remained unmarried. The great Trust his Majesty reposed in him, infinitely above and contrary to his Desire, was in(39) itself liable to Envy; and how insupportable that Envy must be, upon this new Relation, He could not but foresee; together with the Jealousies, which artificial Men would be able to insinuate into his Majesty, even when They seemed to have all possible Confidence in the Integrity of the Chancellor, and when They extolled him most; and that how firm and constant soever his Majesty's Grace and Favour was to him at present (of which He had lately given such lively Testimony) and how resolved soever He was to continue it, his Majesty himself could not know how far some Jealousies, cunningly suggested by some Men, might by Degrees be entertained by him. And therefore that, upon all the Revolvings He had with himself, He could not think of any Thing, that could contribute equally to his Majesty's Service and his Quiet, and to the Happiness and Security of himself, as for him to retire from the active Station He was in, to an absolute Solitude, and visible Inactivity in all Matters relating to the State: And which He thought could not be so well, under any Retirement into the Country or any Part of the Kingdom, as by his leaving the Kingdom, and fixing himself in some Place beyond the Seas remote from any Court."

And having said all this, or Words to the same Effect, He fell on his Knees; and with all possible Earnestness desired the King, "that He would consent to his Retirement as a Thing most necessary for his Service, and give his Pass to go and reside in any such Place, beyond the Seas, as his Majesty would make Choice of."

THE King heard him patiently, yet with Evidence enough that He was not pleased with what He said; and when He kneeled, took him up with some Passion; "He did not expect this from him, and that

"He

"He had so little Kindness for him, as to leave him
 "in a Time, when He could not but know that He
 "was very necessary for his Service. That He had
 "Reason to be very well assured, that it could never
 "be in any Man's Power to lessen his Kindness to-
 "wards him, and if any should presume to attempt
 "it, They would find Cause to repent their Presump-
 "tion." He said, "there were many Reasons, why
 "He could never have designed or advised his Bro-
 "ther to this Marriage; yet since it was past, and all
 "Things so well reconciled, He would not deny that
 "He was glad of it, and promised himself much Be-
 "nefit from it." He told him, "his Daughter was
 "a Woman of a great Wit and excellent Parts, and
 "would have a great Power with his Brother; and
 "that He knew that She had an entire Obedience for
 "him, her Father, who He knew would always give
 "her good Counsel, by which," He said, "He was
 "confident that naughty People, which had too much
 "Credit with his Brother, and which had so often
 "misled him, would be no more able to corrupt him;
 "but that She would prevent all ill and unreasonable
 "Attempts: And therefore He again confessed that
 "He was glad of it;" and so concluded with many
 "gracious Expressions, and conjured the Chancellor
 "never more to think of those unreasonable Things,
 "but to attend and prosecute his Business with his
 "usual Alacrity, since his Kindness could never fail
 "him."

THE next Morning, which was of the last Day
 that the Queen was to stay, the Earl of *St. Albans*
 visited the Chancellor with all those Compliments,
 Professions and Protestations, which were natural, and
 which He did really believe every Body else thought
 to be very sincere; for He had that Kindness for him-
 self, that He thought every Body did believe him.
 He expressed "a wonderful Joy, that the Queen
 (40) "would now leave the Court united, and all the
 "King's Affairs in a hopeful Condition, in which the
 "Queen

“Queen confessed that the Chancellor’s Counsels had been very prosperous, and that She was resolved to part with great and a sincere Kindness towards him; and that He had Authority from her to assure him so much, which She would do herself when She saw him:” And so offered “to go with him to her Majesty, at such an Hour in the Afternoon as She should appoint.” The other made such Returns to all the Particulars as were fit, and “that He would be ready to attend the Queen, at the Time She should please to assign:” And in the Afternoon the Earl of *St. Albans* came again to him; and They went together to *Whitehall*, where They found the Queen in her Bedchamber, where many Ladies were present, who came then to take their Leave of her Majesty, before She began her Journey.

The Queen reconciled to the Duke of York.

THE Duke of *York* had before presented his Wife to his Mother, who received her without the least Shew of Regret, or rather with the same Grace as if She had liked it from the Beginning, and made her sit down by her. When the Chancellor came in, the Queen rose from her Chair, and received him with a Countenance very serene. The Ladies, and others who were near, withdrawing, her Majesty told him, “that He could not wonder, much less take it ill, “that She had been much offended with the Duke, “and had no Inclination to give her Consent to his Marriage; and if She had, in the Passion that could not be condemned in her, spake any Thing of him “that He had taken ill, He ought to impute it to “the Provocation She had received, though not from him. She was now informed by the King, and “well assured, that He had no Hand in contriving “that Friendship, but was offended with that Passion “that really was worthy of him. That She could not but confess, that his Fidelity to the King her Husband was very eminent, and that He had served “the King her Son with equal Fidelity and extraordinary Success. And therefore as She had received
“ his

"his Daughter as her Daughter, and heartily forgave
 "the Duke and her, and was resolved ever after to
 "live with all the Affection of a Mother towards
 "them; so She resolved to make a Friendship with *And to the*
 "him, and hereafter to expect all the Offices from *Chancellor.*
 "him, which her Kindness should deserve." And
 when the Chancellor had made all those Acknowledg-
 ments which He ought to do, and commended her
 Wisdom and Indignation in a Business, "in which
 "She could not shew too much Anger and Aversion,
 "and had too much forgotten her own Honour and
 "Dignity if She had been less offended," and magni-
 fied her Mercy and Generosity "in departing so soon
 "from her necessary Severity, and pardoning a Crime
 "in itself so unpardonable;" He made those Profes-
 sions of Duty to her which were due to her, and
 "that He should always depend upon her Protection
 "as his most gracious Mistress, and pay all Obedience
 "to her Commands." The Queen appeared well
 pleased, and said "She should remain very confident
 "of his Affection," and so discoursed of some Parti-
 culars; and then opening a Paper that She had in her
 Hand, She recommended the Dispatch of some Things
 to him, which immediately related to her own Service
 and Interest, and then some Persons, who had either
 some Suits to the King, or some Controversies depend-
 ing in Chancery. And the Evening drawing on, and
 very many Ladies and others waiting without to kiss
 her Majesty's Hand, He thought it Time to take his
 Leave; and after having repeated some short Profes-
 sions of his Duty, He kissed her Majesty's Hand:
 And from that Time there did never appear any Want
 of Kindness in the Queen towards him, whilst He
 stood in no Need of it, nor until it might have done
 him Good.

Thus an Intrigue, that without Doubt had been
 entered into and industriously contrived by those, who
 designed to affront and bring Dishonour upon the
 Chancellor and his Family, was, by God's good Pleasure,
 turned

the Perquisites of his Office which were considerable at the first, and by such Bounty of the King as might hereafter, without Noise or Scandal, be conferred on him in proper Seasons and Occurrences; and that He was as far from affecting such an unlimited Power as He was believed afterwards to be possessed of (and of which no Footsteps could ever be discovered in any of his Actions, or in any one Particular that was the Effect of such Power,) or from desiring any other Extent of Power, than was agreeable to the great Office He held, and which had been enjoyed by most of those, who had been his Predecessors in that Trust.

He refused a considerable Offer of Crown Lands.

THE King had not been many Weeks in *England*, when the Marquis of *Ormond* came to him with his usual Friendship, and asked him, “whether it would “not be now Time to think of making a Fortune, “that He might be able to leave to his Wife and “Children, if He should die.” And when He found that He was less sensible of what He proposed than He expected, and that He only answered, “that He “knew not which Way to go about it;” the Marquis told him, “that He thought He could commend a “proper Suit for him to make to the King; and if “his Modesty would not permit him to move the “King for himself, He would undertake to move it “for him, and was confident that the King would “willingly grant it:” And thereupon shewed him a Paper, which contained the King’s just Title to ten thousand Acres of Land in the *Great Level of the Fens*, which would be of a good yearly Value; or They, who were unjustly possessed of it, would be glad to purchase the King’s Title with a very considerable Sum of Money. And, in the End, He frankly told him, “that He made this Overture to him with the “King’s Approbation, who had been moved in it, “and thought at the first Sight, out of his own Goodness, that it might be fit for him, and wished the “Marquis to propose it to him.”

WHEN

WHEN the Chancellor had extolled the King's Generosity, that He could, in so great Necessities of his own, think of dispensing so great a Bounty upon a poor Servant, who was already recompensed beyond what He could be ever able to deserve; He said, "that He knew very well the King's Title to that Land, of which He was in Possession before the Rebellion began, which the old and new *Adventurers* now claimed by a new Contract, confirmed by an Ordinance of Parliament, which could not deprive the Crown of its Right; which all the *Adventurers* (who for the greatest Part were worthy Men) well knew, and would for their own Sakes not dispute, since it would inevitably produce a new Inundation, which all their Unity and Consent in maintaining the Banks would and could with Difficulty enough but prevent. That He would advise his Majesty to give all the Countenance He could, to the carrying on and perfecting that great Work, which was of great Benefit as well as Honour to the Publick; at the Charge of private Gentlemen, who had paid dear for the Land They had recovered; but that He would never advise him, to begin his Reign with the Alienation of such a Parcel of Land from (43) the Crown to any one particular Subject, who could never bear the Envy of it. That his Majesty ought to reserve that Revenue to himself, which was great, though less than it was generally reputed to be; at least, till the Value thereof should be clearly understood (and the declaring it in his own Hands for some Time, would be the best Expedient towards the finishing all the Banks, when the Season should be fit, which else would be neglected by the Discord among the *Adventurers*) and the King knew what He gave. He must remember, that He had two Brothers" (for the Duke of *Glocester* was yet alive) "who were without any Revenue, and towards whom his Bounty was to be first extended; and that this Land would be a good Ingredient towards an
Ap-

“ Appendage for them Both. And that till They were
 “ reasonably provided for, no private Man in his Wits
 “ would be the Object of any extraordinary Bounty
 “ from the King, which would unavoidably make
 “ him the Object of an universal Envy and Hatred.
 “ That, for his own Part, He held by the King’s
 “ Favour the greatest Office of the Kingdom in Place;
 “ and though it was not near the Value it was esteem-
 “ ed to be, and that many other Offices were more
 “ profitable, yet it was enough for him, and would
 “ be a good Foundation to improve his Fortune: So
 “ that,” He said, “ He had made a Resolution to
 “ himself, which He thought He should not alter,
 “ not to *make Haste to be rich*. That it was the prin-
 “ cipal Part or Obligation of his Office, to dissuade
 “ the King from making any Grants of such a Nature
 “ (except where the Necessity or Convenience was very
 “ notorious) and even to stop those which should be
 “ made of that Kind, and not to suffer them to pass
 “ the Seal, till He had again waited upon the King,
 “ and informed him of the evil Consequence of those
 “ Grants; which Discharge of his Duty could not but
 “ raise him many Enemies, who should not have that
 “ Advantage, to say that He obstructed the King’s
 “ Bounty towards other Men, when He made it very
 “ profuse towards himself. And therefore, that He
 “ would never receive any Crown-Land from the
 “ King’s Gift, and did not wish to have any other
 “ Honour or any Advantage, but what his Office
 “ brought him, till seven Years should pass; in which
 “ all the Distractions of the Kingdom might be com-
 “ posed, and the Necessities thereof so provided for,
 “ that the King might be able, without hurting
 “ himself, to exercise some Liberality towards his Ser-
 “ vants who had served him well.” How He seemed
 to part from this Resolution in some Particulars after-
 wards, and why He did so, may be collected out of
 what hath been truly set down before.

WHEN

WHEN the Marquis of *Ormond* had given the King a large Account of the Conference between him and the Chancellor, and "that He absolutely refused to receive that Grant;" his Majesty said, "He was a Fool for his Labour, and that He would be much better in being envied than in being pitied." And though the Inheritance of those Lands was afterwards given to the Duke, yet there were such Estates granted for Years to many particular Persons, most whereof had never merited by any Service, that Half the Value thereof never came to his Highness.

As soon as the King and Duke returned from *Portsmouth*, where They had seen the Queen embarked for *France*, the King had appointed a Chapter, for the electing some Knights of the *Garter* into the Places vacant. Upon which the Duke desired him "to nominate the Chancellor," which his Majesty said "He would willingly do, but He knew not whether it would be grateful to him; for He had refused so many Things, that He knew not what He would take;" and therefore wished him "to take a Boat to *Worcester-House*, and propose it to him, and He would not go to the Chapter till his Highness returned." The Duke told the Chancellor what had passed between the King and him, and, "that He was come only to know his Mind, and could not imagine but that such an Honour would please him." The Chancellor, after a Million of humble Acknowledgments of the Duke's Grace and the King's Condescension, said, "that the Honour was indeed too great by much for him to sustain; that there were very many worthy Men, who well remembered him of their own Condition when He first entered into his Father's Service, and believed that He was advanced too much before them." He besought his Highness, "that his Favours and Protection might not expose him to Envy that would break him to Pieces." He asked "what Knights the King meant to make;" the Duke named them, all Persons

*He declined
being made
Knights of the
Garter.*

(u)

sons very eminent: The Chancellor said, "no Man could
 "except against the King's Choice; many would justly,
 "if He were added to the Number." He desired his
 Highness "to put the King in Mind of the Earl of
 "*Lindsey*, Lord High Chamberlain of *England*" (with
 whom He was known to have no Friendship, on the
 contrary, that there had been Disgusts between them
 in the last King's Time;) "that his Father had lost
 "his Life with the *Garter* about his Neck, when this
 "Gentleman his Son, endeavouring to relieve him,
 "was taken Prisoner; that He had served the King
 "to the End of the War with Courage and Fidelity,
 "being an excellent Officer: For all which, the King
 "his Father had admitted him a Gentleman of his
 "Bedchamber, which Office He was now without:
 "And not to have the *Garter* now upon his Majesty's
 "Return, would in all Mens Eyes look like a De-
 "gradation, and an Instance of his Majesty's Dis-
 "esteem; especially if the Chancellor should supply
 "the Place, who was not thought his Friend:" And,
 upon the whole Matter, entreated the Duke "to re-
 "serve his Favour towards him for some other Occa-
 "sion, and excuse him to the King for the declining
 "this Honour, which He could not support." The
 Duke replied with an offended Countenance, "that
 "He saw He would not accept any Honour from the
 "King, that proceeded by his Mediation;" and so
 left him in apparent Displeasure. However, at that
 Chapter the Earl of *Lindsey* was created Knight of the
Garter, with the rest; and coming afterwards to hear
 by what Chance it was, He ever lived with great Ci-
 vility towards the Chancellor to his Death.

AND when the Chancellor afterwards complained
 to his Majesty "of his Want of Care of him, in his
 "so easily gratifying his Brother in a Particular that
 "would be of so much Prejudice to him," and so en-
 larged upon the Subject, and put his Majesty in Mind
 of *Solomon's* Interrogation, "*who can stand against En-
 vy?*" the King said no more, than "that He did rea-
 ly

ly believe when He sent his Brother, that He would "refuse it;" and added, "I tell you, Chancellor, that You are too strict and apprehensive in those Things, and trust me, it is better to be envied than pitied." The Duke did not dissemble his Resentment, and told his Wife, "that He took it very ill; that He desired that the World might take Notice of his Friendship to her Father, and that, after former Unkindness, He was heartily reconciled to him; but that her Father cared not to have that believed, nor would have it believed that his Interest in the King was not enough, to have no Need of good Offices from the Duke:" Which Discourse He used likewise to the Marquis of *Ormond* and others, who He thought would inform the Chancellor of it. And the Dutches was much troubled at it, and took it unkindly of her Father, who thought himself obliged to wait upon his Royal Highness, and to vindicate himself from (45) that Folly He was charged with; in which He protested to him, "that He so absolutely and entirely depended upon his Protection, that He would never receive any Favour from the King, but by his Mediation and Interposition:" To which the Duke answered, "that He should see whether He would have that Deference to him shortly."

AND it was not long before the Day for the Coronation was appointed, when the King had appointed to make some Barons, and to raise some who were Barons to higher Degrees of Honour; most of whom were Men not very grateful, because They had been faulty, though They had afterwards redeemed what was past, by having performed very signal Services to his Majesty, and were able to do him more: Upon which the King had resolved to confer those Honours upon them, and in Truth had promised it to them, or to some of their Friends, before He came from beyond the Seas. At this Time the Duke came to the Chancellor, and said, "He should now discover whether He would be as good as his Word:"

He refused to be made an Earl.

and so gave him a Paper, which was a Warrant under the King's Sign Manual to the Attorney General, to prepare a Grant, by which the Chancellor should be created an Earl. To which, upon the Reading, He began to make Objections; when the Duke said, "my Lord, I have thought fit to give you this Ear-
 "nest of my Friendship, You may reject it if You
 "think fit;" and departed. And the Chancellor, upon Recollection, and Conference with his two Friends, the Treasurer and the Marquis of *Ormond*, found He could not prudently refuse it. And so, the Day or two before the Coronation, He was with the others created an Earl by the King in the *Banqueting-House*; and, in the very Minute of his Creation, had an Earnest of the Envy that would ensue, in the Murmurs of some, who were ancienter Barons, at the Precedence given to him before them; of which He was totally ignorant, it being resolved by the King upon the Place, and the View of the Precedents of all Times when any Officers of State were created with others. Yet one of the Lords concerned swore in the Ears of two or three of his Friends, at the same Time, "that He
 "would be revenged for that Affront;" which related not to the Chancellor's Precedence, for the other was no Baron, but for the Precedence given to another, whom He thought his Inferiour, and imputed the Partiality to his Power, who had not the least Hand in it, nor knew it before it was determined. Yet the other was as good as his Word, and took the very first Opportunity that was offered for his Revenge.

*But at length
 unwillingly
 consented.*

I will add one Instance more, sufficient, if the other were away, to convince all Men, how far He was from being transported with that Ambition, of which He was accused, and for which He was condemned. After the firm Conjunction in the Royal Family was notorious, and all the neighbour Princes had sent their splendid Embassies of Congratulation to the King, and desired to renew all Treaties with this Crown, and the Parliament proceeded, how slowly
 forever,

soever, with great Duty and Reverence towards the King; the Marquis of *Ormond* (whom the King had by this Time made Duke of *Ormond*) came one Day to him, and being in private, said, "He came to speak to him of himself, and to let him know not only his own Opinion, but the Opinion of his best Friends, with whom He had often conferred upon the Argument: And that They all wondered, that He so much affected the Post He was in, as to continue in the Office of Chancellor, which took up most of his Time, especially all the Mornings, in Business that many other Men could discharge as well as He. Whereas He ought to leave that to such a Man as He thought fit for it, and to betake ^{He was strongly urged to resign his Office of Chancellor.} himself to that Province, which Nobody knew so well how to discharge. That the Credit He had with the King was known to all Men, and that He did in Truth remit that Province to him, which He would not own, and could not discharge by the Multiplicity of the Business of his Office, which was not of that Moment. That the King every Day took less Care of his Affairs, and affected those Pleasures most which made him averse from the other. That He spent most of his Time with confident young Men, who abhorred all Discourse that was serious, and, in the Liberty They assumed in Drollery and Raillery, preserved no Reverence towards God or Man, but laughed at all sober Men, and even at Religion itself; and that the Custom of this License, that did yet only make the King merry for the present, by Degrees would grow acceptable to him; and that these Men would by Degrees have the Presumption (which yet They had not, nor would He in Truth then suffer it) to enter into his Business, and by administering to those Excesses, to which his Nature and Constitution most inclined him, would not only powerfully foment those Inclinations, but intermeddle and obstruct his most weighty Counsels. That, for the Prevention of all

*And to affirm
the Character
of Prince Mi-
nister.*

“this Mischief, and the preserving the excellent Na-
 “ture and Understanding of the King from being
 “corrupted by such lewd Instruments, who had only
 “a scurrilous Kind of Wit to procure Laughter, but
 “had no Sense of Religion, or Reverence for the
 “Laws; there was no Remedy in View, but his giv-
 “ing up his Office, and betaking himself wholly to
 “wait upon the Person of the King, and to be with
 “him in those Seasons, when that loose People would
 “either abstain from coming, or, if They were pre-
 “sent, would not have the Confidence to say or do
 “those Things which They had been accustomed to
 “do before the King. By this Means, He would
 “find frequent Opportunities to inform the King of
 “the true State of his Affairs, and the Danger He
 “incurred by not thoroughly understanding them,
 “and by being thought to be negligent in the Duties
 “of Religion and settling the Distractions in the
 “Church; at least, He would do some Good in all
 “these Particulars, or keep the License from spread-
 “ing farther, which in Time it would do, to the rob-
 “bing him of the Hearts of his People. That the
 “King, from the long Knowledge of his Fidelity,
 “and the Esteem He had of his Virtue, received any
 “Advertisements and Animadversions, and even suf-
 “fered Reprehensions, from him, better than from
 “any other Man; therefore He would be able to do
 “much Good, and to deserve more than ever He had
 “done from the whole Kingdom. And He did verily
 “believe, that this would be acceptable to the King
 “himself, who knew He could not enough attend to
 “the many Things, which, being left undone, must
 “much disorder the whole Machine of his Govern-
 “ment, or, being ill done, would in Time dissolve
 “it; and that his Majesty would assign such a liberal
 “Allowance for this Service, that He should find
 “himself well rewarded, and a great Gainer by accept-
 “ing it and putting off his Office.”

*Which would
be more bene-
ficial to him.*

He concluded, "That was the Desire and Advice of all his Friends; and that the Duke was so far of the same Judgment, that He resolved to be very instant with him upon it, and only wished, that He should first break the Matter to him, that He might not be surpris'd when his Royal Highness entered upon the Discourse." And He added, "that this Province must inevitably at last be committed to some one Man, who probably would be without that Affection to the King's Person, that Experience in Affairs, and that Knowledge of the Laws and Constitution of the Kingdom, as all Men knew to be in the Chancellor."

- 47) WHEN the Marquis had ended, with the Warmth of Friendship which was superiour to any Temptation, and in which no Man ever excelled him, nor delivered what He had a Mind to say more clearly, or with a greater Weight of Words; the Chancellor said, "that He did not much wonder that many of his Friends, who had not the Opportunity to know him enough, and who might propose to themselves some Benefit from this unlimited Greatness, might in Truth out of their Partiality to him, and by their not knowing the King's Nature, believe, that his Wariness and Integrity, and his Knowledge of the Constitution of the Government and the Nature of the People, would conduct the King's Counsels in such a Way, as would lead best to his Power and Greatness, and to the Good and Happiness of the Nation, which would be the only secure Support of his Power and Authority: But that He, who knew both the King and him so well, that no Man living knew either of them so well, should be of that Opinion He had expressed, was Matter of Admiration and Surprisal to him." He appealed to him, "how often He had heard him say to the King in *France, Germany, and Flanders*, when They two took all the Pains They could to fix the King's Mind to a lively Sense of his Condition; *That He must not think now to recover his*
"three

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“three Kingdoms by the dead Title of his Descent and Right, which had been so notoriously baffled and dishonoured, but by the Reputation of his Virtue, Courage, Piety, and Industry; that all these Virtues must center in himself, for that his Fate depended upon his Person; and that the English Nation would sooner submit to the Government of Cromwell, than to any other Subject who should be thought to govern the King. That England would not bear a Favourite, nor any one Man, who should out of his Ambition engross to himself the Disposal of the publick Affairs.”

But this He absolutely refused.

He said, “He was more now of the same Mind, and was confident that no honest Man, of a competent Understanding, would undertake that Province; and that for his own Part, if a Gallows were erected, and if He had only the Choice to be hanged or to execute that Office, He would rather submit to the first than the last. In the one, He should end his Life with the Reputation of an honest Man; in the other, He should die with Disgrace and Infamy, let his Innocence be what it would.” He put the Marquis in Mind, “how far the King was from observing the Rules He had prescribed to himself before He came from beyond the Seas, and was so totally unbent from his Business and addicted to Pleasures, that the People generally began to take Notice of it; that there was little Care taken to regulate Expences, even when He was absolutely without Supply; that He would on a sudden be overwhelmed with such Debts, as would disquiet him, and dishonour his Counsels;” of which the Lord Treasurer was so sensible, that He was already weary of his Staff, before it had been in his Hands three Months. “That the Confidence the King had in him, besides the Assurance He had of his Integrity and Industry, proceeded more from his Aversion to be troubled with the Intricacies of his Affairs, than from any Violence of Affection, which was not so fixed in his Nature as to be like to transport him to
“any

"any one Person: And that as He could not, in so short a Time, be acquainted with many Men, whom in his Judgment He could prefer before the Chancellor for the Managery of his Business, who had been so long acquainted with it; so He would, in a short Time, be acquainted with many, who would by finding Fault with all that was done be ⁽⁴⁾thought much wiser Men; it being one of his Majesty's greatest Infirmities, that He was apt to think too well of Men at the first or second Sight."

He said, "whilst He kept the Office He had (which could better bear the Envy of the Bulk of the Affairs, than any other Qualification could) and that it supported him in the Execution of it, the King felt not the Burden of it; because little of the Profit of it proceeded out of his own Purse, and, if He were dead Tomorrow, the Place still must be conferred upon another. Whereas, if He gave over that Administration, and had Nothing to rely upon for the Support of himself and Family, but an extraordinary Pension out of the Exchequer, under no other Title or Pretence but of being First Minister (a Title so newly translated out of *French* into *English*, that it was not enough understood to be liked, and every Man would detest it for the Burden it was attended with); the King himself, who was not by Nature immoderately inclined to give, would be quickly weary of so chargeable an Officer, and be very willing to be freed from the Reproach of being governed by any (the very Suspicion whereof He doth exceedingly abhor) at the Price and Charge of the Man, who had been raised by him to that inconvenient Height above other Men. That whilst He had that Seal, He could have Admission to his Majesty as often as He desired, because it was more Ease to receive an Account of his Business from him, than to be present at the whole Debate of it; and He well knew, the Chancellor had too much Business to desire Audiences from his Majesty without necessity."

"sary Reason. But if the Office were in another
 "Hand, and He should haunt his Presence with the
 "same Importunity as a Spy upon his Pleasures, and
 "a Disturber of the Jollities of his Meetings; his
 "Majesty would quickly be nauseated with his Com-
 "pany, which for the present He liked in some Sea-
 "sons; and They, who for the present had submitted to
 "some Constraint by the Gravity of his Countenance,
 "would quickly discover that their Talents were more
 "acceptable, and by Degrees make him appear grie-
 "vous to his Majesty, and soon after ridiculous.
 "That all his Hope was, that the King would shortly
 "find some Lady fit to be his Wife, which all honest
 "Men ought to persuade him to, and that being mar-
 "ried, He made no Doubt, He would decline many
 "of those Delights to which He was yet exposed, and
 "which exposed him too much; and till that Time
 "He could not think that his best Servants could en-
 "joy any pleasant Lives. That He presumed the
 "Parliament would, after They had raised Money
 "enough to disband the Armies, and to pay off the
 "Seamen" (towards Both which somewhat was every
 "Day done, and Both which amounted to an incredible
 "and insupportable Charge) "settle such a Revenue
 "upon the Crown, as the King might conform his
 "Expense to; and that it should not be in any Body's
 "Power, to make that Revenue be esteemed by him
 "to be greater, than in Truth it would be. That
 "when these two Things should be brought to pass,
 "He did hope, that the King would take Pleasure in
 "making himself Master of every Part of his Business,
 "and not charge any Man with a greater Share of
 "it than He can discharge, or than will agree with his
 "own Dignity and Honour. In the mean Time,"
 "He besought the Marquis, "that He would convert
 "the Duke of York and all other Persons from that
 "Opinion, which could not but appear erroneous to
 "himself by the Reasons He had heard; and that if
 "He could be brought to consent to what had been

"pro-

“proposed to him (and which rather than He would do, He would suffer a thousand Deaths), as it would inevitably prove his own Ruin and Destruction, so
 (49) “it would bring an irreparable Damage to the King.” And therefore He conjured him “to invite the King by his own Example, and by assuming his own Share of the Work,” which for some Time He had declined since the Return into *England*; “and by being himself constantly with his Majesty, to whom He was acceptable at all Hours, He would obstruct the Operation of that ill Company, which neither knew how to behave themselves, nor could reasonably propose so much Benefit to themselves, as by the Propagation of their Follies and Villanies; and by Degrees induce his Majesty more proportionably to mingle his Business with his Pleasures, which He could not totally abandon.”

THE Marquis could not deny, but that many of the Reasons alledged by the Chancellor were of that Weight as ought to prevail with him; and therefore forbore ever after to press him upon the same Particular. And the Duke of *York* shortly undertook a Conference with him upon the same Argument, upon which the other durst not enlarge with the same Freedom as He had done to the Marquis; both because his Eyes could not bear the Prospect of so many Things at once, as likewise that He knew He communicated with some Persons, who, whatever They pretended, had Nothing like good Affection for him: So that He rather pacified his Royal Highness upon that Subject, and diverted him from urging it, than satisfied him with his Grounds. And others who wished well to him, and better to the Publick, acquiesced with his peremptory Resolution, without believing that He resolved well either for his own Particular, or the King's Affairs; and did always think that He might have prevented his own Fate, if He had at that Time submitted to the Judgment of his best Friends; though himself remained so positive to the
 con-

contrary, that He often said, "that He would not have redeemed himself by that Expedient, and that He could never have borne that Fate with that Tranquillity of Mind, which God enabled him to do, if He had passed to it through that Province."

Commissioners sent to the King from Scotland and Ireland.

WHILST the general Affairs of *England*, by the long Debates in Parliament, remained thus unsettled, the King was no less troubled and perplexed how to compose his two other Kingdoms of *Scotland* and *Ireland*; from Both which there were several Persons of the best Condition of either Kingdom sent, with the Tender and Presentation of their Allegiance to his Majesty, and expected his immediate Direction to free them from the Distractions they were in; and, by taking the Government upon himself into his own Hands, to be freed from those extraordinary Commissions, under which they had been Both governed with a Rod of Iron by the late Powers; the shifting of which from one Faction to another had administered no Kind of Variety to them, but they had remained still under the same full Extent of Tyranny.

The State of Scotland at that Time.

THE whole Frame of the ancient Government of *Scotland* had been so entirely confounded by *Cromwell*, and new-modelled by the Laws and Customs of *England*, that is, those Laws and Customs which the Commonwealth had established; that He had hardly left Footsteps by which the old might be traced out again. The Power of the Nobility was so totally suppressed and extinguished, that their Persons found no more Respect or Distinction from the common People, than the Acceptation They found from *Cromwell*, and the Credit He gave them by some particular Trust, drew to them. Their beloved Presbytery was become a Term of Reproach, and ridiculous; the Pride and Activity of their Preachers subdued, and reduced to the lowest Contempt; and the Standard of their Religion remitted to the sole Order and Direction of their Commander in chief. All criminal Cases (except where the General thought it more expedient to proceed

(so)ceed by martial Law) were tried and punished before Judges sent from *England*, and by the Laws of *England*; and Matters of civil Interest before itinerant Judges, who went twice a Year in Circuits through the Kingdom, and determined all Matters of Right by the Rules and Customs which were observed in *England*. They had Liberty to send a particular Number that was assigned to them to sit in the Parliament of *England*, and to vote there with all Liberty; which They had done. And in Recompense thereof, all such Monies were levied in *Scotland*, as were given by the Parliament of *England*, by which such Contributions were raised, as were proportionable to the Expence, which the Army and Garrisons which subdued them put the Kingdom of *England* to. Nor was there any other Authority to raise Money in *Scotland*, but what was derived from the Parliament or General of *England*.

AND all this prodigious Mutation and Transformation had been submitted to with the same Resignation and Obedience, as if the same had been transmitted by an uninterrupted Succession from King *Fergus*: And it might well be a Question, whether the Generality of the Nation was not better contented with it, than to return into the old Road of Subjection. But the King would not build according to *Cromwell's* Models, and had many Reasons to continue *Scotland* within its own Limits and Bounds, and sole Dependance upon himself, rather than unite it to *England* with so many Hazards and Dangers as would inevitably have accompanied it, under any Government less tyrannical than that of *Cromwell*. And the resettling that Kingdom was to be done with much less Difficulty, than the other of *Ireland*, by Reason that all who appeared concerned in it or for it, as a Committee for that Kingdom, were united between themselves, and did, or did pretend to, desire the same Things. They all appeared under the Protection and Recommendation of the General; and their Dependance was the
more

The Continuation of the Life of

more upon him, because He still commanded those Garrisons and Forces in *Scotland*, which kept them to their Obedience. And He was the more willing to give them a Testimony of their Affection to the King, and that without their Help He could not have been able to have marched into *England* against *Lambert*, that They might speak the more confidently, “that “They gave him that Assistance, because They were “well assured that his Intention was to serve the King:” Whereas They did indeed give him only what They could not keep from him; nor did They know any of his Intentions, or himself at that Time intend any Thing for the King. But it is very true, They were all either Men who had merited best from the King, or had suffered most for him, or at least had acted least against him, and (which They looked upon as the most valuable Qualification) They were all, or pretended to be, the most implacable Enemies to the Marquis of *Argyle*, which was the *Sbibboleth* by which the Affections of that whole Nation were best distinguished.

*Some Account
of the Scotch
Commissioners.
Of the Earl
of Selkirk.*

THE Chief of the Commissioners was the Lord *Selkirk*, a younger Son of the Marquis of *Douglafs*, who had been known to the King in *France*, where He had been bred a *Roman Catholick*, which was the Religion of his Family, but had returned into *Scotland* after it had been subdued by *Cromwell*; and being a very handsome young Man, was easily converted from the Religion of his Father, in which He had been bred, to that of his elder Brother the Earl of *Angus*, that He might marry the Daughter and Heir of *James Duke Hamilton*, who from the Battle of *Worcester*, where her Uncle Duke *William* was killed, had inherited the Title of *Duchess*, with the fair Seat of *Hamilton*, and all the Lands which belonged to her Father.⁽⁵⁾ And her Husband now, according to the Custom of *Scotland*, assumed the same Title with her, and appeared in the Head of the Commissioners under the Style of Duke *Hamilton*, with the Merit of having
never

never deserved the King, and with the Advantage of whatsoever his Wife could claim by the Death of her father, which deserved to wipe out the Memory of whatever had been done amiss in his Life.

THE Earl of *Glencarne* was another of the Com-^{Of the Earl of}missioners, a Man very well born and bred, and of ^{Glencarne.} very good Parts. As He had rendered himself very acceptable to the King, during his being in *Scotland*, by his very good Behaviour towards him, so even after that fatal Blow at *Worcester* He did not dissemble his Affection to his Majesty; but withdrawing himself into the *Higblands*, during the Time that *Cromwell* remained in *Scotland*, He sent over an Express to assure the King of his Fidelity, and that He would take the first Opportunity to serve him. And when upon his Desire *Middleton* was designed to command there, He first retired into the *Higblands*, and drew a Body of Men together to receive him. He was a Man of Honour, and good Principles as well with Reference to the Church as to the State, which few others, even of those which now appeared most devoted to the King, avowed to be; for the Presbytery was yet their Idol. From the Time that He had received a Protection and Safe-guard from General *Monk*, after there was little Hope of doing Good by Force, He lived quietly at his House, and was more favoured by the General than any of those who spoke most loudly against the King, and was most trusted by him when He was at *Berwick* upon his March into *England*; and was now presented by him to the King, as a Man worthy of his Trust in an eminent Post of that Kingdom.

WITH these there were others of less Name, but of good Affections and Abilities, who came together from *Scotland* as Commissioners; but They found others in *London* as well qualified to do their Country Service, and whose Names were wisely inserted in their Commission by those who assumed the Authority to send the other. The Earl of *Lautherdale*, who had^{Of the Earl of} been very eminent in contriving and carrying on the ^{Lautherdale.} King's

King's Service when his Majesty was crowned in *Scotland*, and thereby had wrought himself into a very particular Esteem with the King, had marched with him into *England*, and behaved himself well at *Worcester*, where He was taken Prisoner; had, besides that Merit, the suffering an Imprisonment from that very Time with some Circumstances of extreme Rigour, being a Man against whom *Cromwell* had always professed a more than ordinary Animosity. And though the Scene of his Imprisonment had been altered according to the Alteration of the Governments which succeeded, yet He never found himself in complete Liberty till the King was proclaimed by the Parliament, and then He thought it not necessary to repair into *Scotland* for Authority or Recommendation; but sending his Advice thither to his Friends, He made Haste to transport himself with the Parliament Commissioners to the *Hague*, where He was very well received by the King, and left Nothing undone on his Part that might cultivate those old Inclinations, being a Man of as much Address and Insinuation, in which that Nation excels, as was then amongst them. He applied himself to those who were most trusted by the King with a marvellous Importunity, and especially to the Chancellor, with whom, as often as They had ever been together, He had had a perpetual War. He now magnified his Constancy with loud Elogiums, as well to his Face as behind his Back, remembered "many sharp Expressions formerly used by the Chan-⁽⁵⁾cellor, which He confessed had then made him mad, "though upon Recollection afterwards He had found "them to be very reasonable." He was very polite in all his Discourses, called himself and his Nation "a thousand Traitors and Rebels," and in his Discourses frequently said, "when I was a Traitor," or "when I was in Rebellion," and seemed not equally delighted with any Argument, as when He scornfully spake of the *Covenant*, upon which He brake a hundred Jest. In Sum, all his Discourses were such as pleased

pleased all the Company, who commonly believed all He said, and concurred with him. He renewed his old Acquaintance and Familiarity with *Middleton* by all the Protestations of Friendship, assured him "of the unanimous Desire of *Scotland* to be under his Command," and declared to the King, "that He could not send any Man into *Scotland*, who would be able to do him so much Service in the Place of Commissioner as *Middleton*, and that it was in his Majesty's Power to unite the whole Kingdom to his Service as one Man." All which pleased the King well: So that, by the Time that the Commissioners appeared at *London*, upon some old Promise in *Scotland*, or new Inclination upon his long Sufferings, which He magnified enough, the King gave him the Signet, and declared him to be Secretary of State to that Kingdom; and at the same Time declared that *Middleton* should be his Commissioner; the Earl of *Glencarne* his Chancellor; the Earl of *Rothes*, who was likewise one of the Commissioners, and his Person very agreeable to the King, President of the Council; and conferred all other inferiour Offices upon Men most notable for their Affection to the old Government of Church and State.

AND the first Proposition that the Commissioners made after their Meeting together, and before They entered upon Debate of the Publick, was, "that his Majesty would add to the Council of *Scotland*, which should reside near his Person, the Chancellor and Treasurer of *England*, the General, the Marquis of *Ormond*, and Secretary *Nicholas*, who should be always present when any Thing should be debated and resolved concerning that Kingdom:" Which Desire, so different from any that had been in Times past, persuaded the King that their Intentions were very sincere. Whatever Appearance there was of Unity amongst them, for there was Nothing like Contradiction, there was a general Dislike by them all of the Power *Lautberdale* had with the King, who They

*Of the Earl
of Crawford
Lindsey.*

knew pressed many Things without Communication with them, as He had prevailed that the Earl of *Crawford Lindsey* should continue in the Office He formerly had of being High Treasurer of that Kingdom, though He was known to be a Man incorrigible in his Zeal for the Presbytery, and all the Madnesses of Kirk, and not firm to other Principles upon which the Authority of the Crown must be established; so that They could not so much as consult in his Presence of many Particulars of the highest Moment and Importance to the publick Settlement. Yet his having behaved himself well towards the King, whilst He was in that Kingdom, and his having undergone great Persecution under *Cromwell*, and professing now all Obedience to his Majesty, prevailed that He should not be displaced upon his Majesty's first Entrance upon his Government, but that a new Occasion should be attended to, which was in View, and when the King resolved, without communicating his Purpose to *Lautberdale*, to confer that Office upon *Middleton*, when He should have proceeded the first Stage in his Commission; and of this his Resolution He was graciously pleased to inform him.

*The Marquis
of Argyle, Earl
of the Trossachs.*

THE Marquis of *Argyle* (without mentioning of whom there can hardly be any Mention of *Scotland*) though He was not of this Fraternity, yet thought He could tell as fair a Story for himself as any of the rest, and contribute as much to the King's absolute Power in *Scotland*. And therefore He had no sooner unquestionable Notice of the King's being in *London*, but He made Haste thither with as much Confidence as the rest. But the Commissioners who were before him wrought so far with the King, that in the very Minute of his Arrival He was arrested by a Warrant under the King's Hand, and carried to the *Tower*, upon a Charge of High Treason.

He was a Man like *Drances* in *Virgil*,

Legis

Largus Opum, et Linguâ melior, sed frigida Bello *His Character.*
Dextera, Consiliis habitus non futilis Auctor,
Seditione potens.

Without Doubt He was a Person of extraordinary Cunning, well bred; and though, by the Ill-Placing of his Eyes, He did not appear with any great Advantage at first Sight, yet He reconciled even those who had Aversion to him very strangely by a little Conversation: Infomuch as after so many repeated Indignities (to say no worse) which He had put upon the late King, and when He had continued the same Affronts to the present King, by hindering the *Scots* from inviting him, and as long as was possible kept him from being received by them; when there was no Remedy, and that He was actually landed, no Man paid him so much Reverence and outward Respect, and gave so good an Example to all others, with what Veneration their King ought to be treated, as the Marquis of *Argyle* did, and in a very short Time made himself agreeable and acceptable to him. His Wit was pregnant, and his Humour gay and pleasant, except when He liked not the Company or the Argument. And though He never consented to any one Thing of Moment, which the King asked of him, and even in those Seasons in which He was used with most Rudeness by the Clergy, and with some Barbarity by his Son the Lord *Lorne*, whom He had made Captain of his Majesty's Guard, to guard him from his Friends and from all who He desired should have Access to him; the Marquis still had that Address, that He persuaded him all was for the best. When the other Faction prevailed, in which there were likewise crafty Managers, and that his Counsels were commonly rejected, He carried himself so, that They who hated him most were willing to compound with him, and that his Majesty should not withdraw his Countenance from him. But He continued in all his Charges,

and had a very great Party in that Parliament that was most devoted to serve the King; so that his Majesty was often put to desire his Help to compass what He desired. He did heartily oppose the King's marching with his Army into *England*, the ill Success whereof made many Men believe afterwards, that He had more Reasons for the Counsels He gave, than They had who were of another Opinion. And the King was so far from thinking him his Enemy, that when it was privately proposed to him by those He trusted most, that He might be secured from doing Hurt when the King was marched into *England*, since He was so much against it; his Majesty would by no Means consent to it, but parted with him very graciously, as with One He expected good Service from. All which the Commissioners well remembered, and were very unwilling that He should be again admitted into his Presence, to make his own Excuses for any Thing He could be charged with. And his Behaviour afterwards, and the good Correspondence He had kept with *Cromwell*, but especially some confident Averments of some particular Words or Actions which related to the Murder of his Father, prevailed with his Majesty not to speak with him, which He laboured by many Addresses, in Petitions to the King and Letters to some of those who were trusted by him, which were often prevented by his Wife and his Son, and in which He only desired "to speak with the King or "with some of those Lords," pretending "that He "should inform and communicate somewhat that "would highly concern his Majesty's Service." But the King not vouchsafing to admit him to his Presence, the *English* Lords had no Mind to have any Conference with a Man who had so dark a Character, or to meddle in an Affair that must be examined and judged by the Laws of *Scotland*: And so it was resolved, that the Marquis of *Argyle* should be sent by Sea into *Scotland*, to be tried before the Parliament there when the Commissioner should arrive, who was dispatched

Sent into
Scotland to
be tried.

patched thither with the rest of the Lords, as soon as the Seals and other Badges of their several Offices could be prepared. And what afterwards became of the Marquis is known to all Men; as it grew quickly to appear, that what Bitterness soever the Earl of *Lauterdale* had expressed towards him in his general Discourses, He had in Truth a great Mind to have preserved him, and so kept such a Pillar of Presbytery against a good Occasion, which was not then suspected by the rest of the Commissioners.

THE Lords of the *English* Council, who were appointed to sit with the *Scots*, met with them to consult upon the Instructions which were to be given to the King's Commissioner, who was now created Earl of *Middleton*. The *Scots* seemed all resolute and impatient to vindicate their Country from the Infamy of delivering up the last King (for all Things relating to the former Rebellion had been put in Oblivion by his late Majesty's *Act of Indemnity* at his last being in *Scotland*) and strictly to examine who of that Nation had contributed to his Murder, of which They were confident *Argyle* would be found very guilty. *Middleton* was very earnest, "that He might for the Humiliation of the "Preachers, and to prevent any unruly Proceeding of "theirs in their Assembly, begin with rescinding the "*Act of the Covenant*, and all other Acts which had "invaded the King's Power Ecclesiastical, and then "proceed to the erecting of Bishops in that Kingdom, "according to the ancient Institution:" And with him *Glencarne*, *Rothes*, and all the rest (*Lauterdale* only excepted) concurred; and averred, "that it would be "very easily brought to pass, because the tyrannical "Proceedings of the Assemblies and their several "Presbyteries had so far incensed Persons of all Degrees, that not only the Nobility, Gentry, and common People would be glad to be freed from them, "but that the most learned and best Part of the Ministers desired the same, and to be subject again to "the Bishops; and that there would be enough found

The Earl of Middleton proposes the Reestablishment of Episcopacy in Scotland.

In which all the Commissioners concur except Lauterdale.

“ of the *Scots* Clergy, very worthy and very willing to
 “ supply those Charges.

LAUTHERDALE, with a Passion superiour to the
 rest, inveighed against the *Covenant*, called “ it a wick-
 “ ed, traiterous Combination of Rebels against their
 “ lawful Sovereign, and expressly against the Laws of
 “ their own Country; protested his own hearty Re-
 “ pentance for the Part He had acted in the Promo-
 “ tion thereof, and that He was confident that God,
 “ who was Witness of his Repentance, had forgiven
 “ him that foul Sin: That no Man there had a greater
 “ Reverence for the Government by Bishops than He
 “ himself had; and that He was most confident, that
 “ the Kingdom of *Scotland* could never be happy in
 “ itself, nor ever be reduced to a perfect Submission
 “ and Obedience to the King, till the Episcopal Go-
 “ vernment was again established there. The Scruple
 “ that only remained with him, and which made him
 “ differ with his Brethren, was, of the Manner how
 “ it should be attempted, and of the Time when it
 “ should be endeavoured to be brought to pass.” And
 then with his usual Warmth when He thought it ne-
 cessary to be warm (for at other Times He could be
 as calm as any Man, though not so naturally) He de-
 sired “ that the Commissioner might have no Instruc-
 “ tion for the present to make any Approach towards
 “ either; on the contrary, that He might be restrain-
 “ ed from it by his Majesty’s special Direction: For
 “ though his own Prudence, upon the Observation He
 “ should quickly make when He came thither, would
 “ restrain him from doing any Thing which might be
 “ inconvenient to his Majesty’s Service; yet without
 “ that He would hardly be able to restrain others,
 “ who for Want of Understanding, or out of Ill-Will
 “ to particular Men, might be too forward to set such
 “ a Design on Foot.”

*He artfully
 attempts to get
 it delayed.*

He desired “ that in the first Sessions of Parliament
 “ no farther Attempt might be made, than in Pur-
 “ suance of what had been first mentioned, the vindi-
 “ cating

"cating their Country from all Things which related
 "to the Murder of the late King, which would com-
 "prehend the Delivery up of his Person, the asserting
 "the King's Royal Power, by which all future At-
 "tempts towards Rebellion would be prevented, and
 "the Trial of the Marquis of *Argyle*; all which would
 "take up more Time than Parliaments in that King-
 "dom, till the late ill Times, had used to continue
 "together. That after the Expiration of the first
 "Session, in which a good Judgment might be made
 "of the Temper of that Kingdom, and the Commis-
 "sioner's Prudence might have an Influence upon
 "many leading Men to change their present Tem-
 "per, such farther Advance might be made for the
 "Reformation of the Kirk as his Majesty should judge
 "best; and then He made no Doubt, but all would
 "by Degrees be compassed in that Particular which
 "could be desired, and which was the more resolutely
 "to be desired, because He still confessed that the
 "King could not be secure nor the Kingdom happy,
 "till the Episcopal Government could be restored.
 "But He undertook to know so well the Nature of
 "that People" (though He had not been in that
 "Kingdom since his Majesty left it) "that if it were
 "undertaken presently, or without due Circumstances
 "in preparing more Men than could in a short Time
 "be done, it would not only miscarry, but with it
 "his Majesty be disappointed of many of the other
 "Particulars, which He would otherwise be sure to
 "obtain."

He named many of the Nobility and leading Men,
 who He said "were still so infatuated with the *Cove-*
nant, that They would with equal Patience hear of
 "the Rejection of the four Evangelists, who yet, by
 "Conversation and other Information and Applica-
 "tion, might in Time be wrought upon." He fre-
 quently appealed to the King's own Memory, and Ob-
 servation when He was in that Kingdom, "how su-
 "perstitious They, who were most devoted to do him
 "Ser-

"Service, and were at his Disposal in all Things,
 "were towards the *Covenant*: That all They did for
 "him, which was all that He desired them to do, was
 "looked upon as the Effects of those Obligations
 "which the *Covenant* had laid upon them." He ap-
 "pealed to the General, ("who," He said, "knew
 "Scotland better than any one Man of that Nation
 "could pretend to do) whether He thought this a
 "proper Season to attempt so great a Change in that
 "Kingdom, before other more pressing Acts were
 "compassed; and whether He did not know, that
 "the very pressing the Obligations in the *Covenant*
 "lately in *England* had not contributed very much to
 "the Restoration of the King, which the *London* Mi-
 "nisters confidently urged at present as an Argument⁶⁶
 "for his Indulgence towards them. And," He said,
 "though He well knew, that his Majesty was fully
 "resolved to maintain the Government of the Church
 "of *England* in its full Lustre, which He thanked God
 "for, being in his Judgment the best Government
 "Ecclesiastical in the World; yet He could not but
 "observe, that the King's Prudence had yet forbore
 "to make any new Bishops, and had upon the Mat-
 "ter suspended the *English Liturgy* by not enjoining it,
 "out of Indulgence to Dissenters, and to allow them
 "Time to consider and to be well informed and in-
 "structed in those Forms, which had been for so
 "many Years rejected or discontinued, that the Peo-
 "ple in general and many Ministers had never seen or
 "heard it used: So that the *Presbyterians* here remain-
 "ed still in Hope of his Majesty's Favour and Con-
 "descension, that They should be permitted to con-
 "tinue their own Forms, or no Forms, in their De-
 "votions and publick Worship of God. In Consideration of all which, He thought it very incongruous, and somewhat against his Majesty's Dignity, suddenly and with Precipitation to begin and attempt such an Alteration in *Scotland*, against a Government that had more Antiquity there, and was
 "more

"more generally submitted to and accepted, than it
 "had been in *England*, before He himself had de-
 "clared his own Judgment against it in this King-
 "dom; which He presumed He would shortly do,
 "and which would be the best Introduction to the
 "same in *Scotland*, where all the King's Actions and
 "Determinations would be looked upon with the high-
 "est Veneration."

HE concluded, "that if the other more vigorous
 "Course should be resolved upon, the Marquis of
 "*Argyle* would be very glad of it; for though He
 "was generally odious to all Degrees of Men, yet He
 "was not so much hated as the *Covenant* was beloved
 "and worshipped: And that when They should dis-
 "cern that They must be deprived of that, They
 "would rather desire to preserve Both. And there-
 "fore," He said, "his Advice still was, that He
 "should be first out of the Way, who was looked
 "upon as the Upholder of the *Covenant* and the chief
 "Pillar of the Kirk, before any visible Attempt
 "should be made against the other, which would
 "assuredly be done by Degrees.

MANY Particulars in this Discourse confidently
 urged, and with more Advantage of Elocution than
 the Fatness of his Tongue, that ever filled his Mouth,
 usually was attended with, seemed reasonable to many,
 and worthy to be answered; and his frequent Appeals
 to the King, in which there were always some ridicu-
 lous Instances of the Use made of the *Covenant*, with
 Reference to the Power of the Preachers in the do-
 mestick Affairs of other Men, and the like, (which
 though it made it the more odious, was still an Argu-
 ment of the Reverence that was generally paid to it,
 all which Instances were well remembered by the King,
 who commonly added others of the same Standard from
 his own Memory) made his Majesty in Suspense, or *His Discourse*
 rather inclined that Nothing should be attempted that *makes some*
 concerned the Kirk till the next Session of Parliament, *Impression on*
 when *Lautherdale* himself confessed it might be securely *the King.*
 effected.

by their not loving one another, and being of several Complexions and Constitutions, and Both of a long Aversion to the King by Multiplications of Guilt. When *Richard* was thrown out, the supreme Power of the Militia was vested in *Ludlow*, and all the civil Jurisdiction in Persons who had been Judges of the King, ^(A) and possessed ample Fortunes, which They could no longer hold than their Authority should be maintained. But the two Presidents remained in their several Provinces with their full Power, either because They had not deserved to be suspected, or because They could not easily be removed, being still subject to the Commissioners at *Dublin*. The next Change of Government removed *Ludlow* and the rest of that desperate Crew, and committed the Government to others of more moderate Principles, yet far enough from wishing well to the King. In those Revolutions Sir *Charles Coote* took an Opportunity to send an Express to the King, who was then at *Brussels*, with the Tender of his Obedience, with great Cautions as to the Time of appearing; only desired "to have such Commissions in his hands as might be applied to his Majesty's Service in a proper Conjunction," which were sent to him, and never made Use of by him. He expressed great Jealousy of *Brogbill*, and an Unwillingness that He should know of his Engagement. And the Alterations succeeded so fast one upon another, that They Both chose rather to depend upon General *Monk* than upon the King, imagining, as They said afterwards, "that He intended Nothing but the King's Restoration, and best knew how to effect it." And by some private Letter, for there was no Order sent, to *Coote* and some other Officers there, "that They would adhere to his Army for the Service of the Parliament against *Lambert*," *Coote*, found Assistance to seize upon the Castle of *Dublin*, and the Persons of those who were in Authority, who were imprisoned by them, and the Government settled in that Manner as They thought most agreeable to the

the Presbyterian Humour, until the General was declared Lieutenant of *Ireland*, who sent Commissioners to the same Persons, who, as soon as the King was proclaimed, sent their Commissioners to the King, ^{Commissioners from the different Parties in Ireland.} who were called Commissioners from the State, and brought a Present of Money to the King from the same, with all Professions of Duty which could be expected from the best Subjects.

1. THESE were the Lord *Brogbill*, Sir *Audly Mervin*, ^{1. Commissioners from the State,} Sir *John Clotworthy*, and several other Persons of Quality, much the greater Number whereof had been always notorious for the Disservice They had done the King; but upon the Advantage of having been discountenanced, and suffered long Imprisonment and other Damages, under *Cromwell*, They called themselves the King's Party, and brought Expectations with them to be looked upon and treated as such. Amongst them was a Brother, and other Friends, made Choice of and more immediately trusted by Sir *Charles Coote*, who remained in the Castle of *Dublin*, and presided in that Council that supplied the Government, and was thought to have the best Interest in the Army as well as in his own Province. "And these Men," He said, "had been privy to the Service He meant to have done the King, and expected the Performance of several Promises He had then made them by Virtue of some Authority had been sent to him to assure those, who should join with him to do his Majesty Service." All these Commissioners from the State had Instructions, to which They were to conform in desiring Nothing from the King, but "the settling his own Authority amongst them, the ordering the Army, the reviving the Execution of the Laws, and settling the Courts of Justice" (all which had been dissolved in the late Usurpation), "and such other Particulars as purely related to the Publick." And their publick Addresses were to this and no other Purpose. But then to their private Friends, and such as They desired to make

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make their Friends, most of them had may Pretence of Merit, and many Expedients by which the King might reward them, and out of which They would be able liberally to gratify their Patrons. And this Means all who served the King were furnished with Suits enough to make their Fortunes, in which They presently engaged themselves with very troublesome Importunity to the King himself, and to others who They thought had Credit or Power to advance their Desires. Nor was there any other Art much used by the Commissioners in their secret Conferences, as to deprave one another, and to discover the ill Actions They had been guilty of, and how little They deserved to be trusted, or had Interest to accomplish. The Lord *Broughill* was the Man of the Parts, and had most Friends by his great Alliance promise for him. And He appeared very generous and to be without the least Pretence to any Advantage for himself, and to be so wholly devoted to the King's Interest and to the establishing of the Government of the Church, that He quickly got himself believed. And having free Access to the King, by mingling Apologies for what He had done with Promises of what He would do, and utterly renouncing all other Principles as to the Church or State (as He might with a good Conscience do) which made Men un-derstand for Trust, He made himself so acceptable to his Majesty, that He heard him willingly, because He made all Things easy to be done and compassed; and gave such Assurances to the Bedchamber Men, to help them to good Fortunes in *Ireland*, which They had Reason to despair of in *England*, that He wanted not their Testimony upon all Occasions, nor their Defence or Vindication, when any Thing was reflected upon his Disadvantage or Reproach.

2. Deputies
from the
Bishops and
Clergy.

2. THERE were many other Deputies of several Classes in *Ireland*, who thought their Pretences to be as well grounded, as theirs who came from the State. There were yet some Bishops alive of that King's

and other grave Divines, all stript of their Dignities and Estates, which had been disposed of by the usurping Power to their Creatures. And all They (some whereof had spent Time in Banishment near the King, and others more miserably in their own Country and in *England*, under the Charity of those who for the most Part lived by the Charity of others) expected, as They well might, to be restored to what in Right belonged to them; and besought his Majesty "to use all possible Expedition to establish the Government of that Church as it had always been, by supplying the empty Sees with new Prelates in the Place of those who were dead, that all the Schisms and wild Factions in Religion, which were spread over that whole Kingdom, might be extirpated and rooted out." All which Desires were grateful to the King, and according to his Royal Intentions, and were not opposed by the Commissioners from the State, who all pretended to be Wellwishers to the old Government of the Church, and the more by the Experience They had of the Distractions which were introduced by that which had succeeded it, and by the Confusion They were now in without any. Only Sir *John Clotworthy* (who, by the Exercise of very ordinary Faculties in several Employments, whilst the Parliament retained the supreme Power in their Hands, had exceedingly improved himself in Understanding and Ability of Negotiation) dissembled not his old Animosity against the Bishops, the Cross and the Surplice, and wished that all might be abolished; though He knew well that his Vore would signify Nothing towards it. And that Spirit of his had been so long known, that it was now imputed to Sincerity and Plaindealing, and that He would not dissemble (which many others were known to do, who had the same Malignity with him); and was the less ill thought of, because in all other Respects He was of
 (60) a generous and a jovial Nature, and complied in all Designs which might advance the King's Interest or Service.

3. A Committee deputed by the Adventurers.

An Account of these Adventurers.

3. THERE appeared likewise a Committee deputed by the *Adventurers* to solicit their Right, which was the more numerous by the Company of many Aldermen and Citizens of the best Quality, and many honest Gentlemen of the Country; who all desired "that their Right might not be disturbed, which had been settled by an Act of Parliament ratified by the last King before the Troubles; and that if it should be thought just, that any of the Lands of which They stood possessed should be taken from them, upon what Title soever, They might first be put into the Possession of other Lands of equal Value before They should be dispossessed of what They had already." All that They made Claim to seemed to be confirmed by an Act of Parliament. The Case was this: When the Rebellion first brake out in *Ireland*, the Parliament then sitting, and there being so much Money to be raised and already raised for the Payment of and disbanding two Armies, and for the composing or compounding the Rebellion of *Scotland*, where the King was at that Time; it had been propounded, "that the War of *Ireland* might be carried on at the Charges of particular Men, and so all Imposition upon the People might be prevented, if an Act of Parliament were passed for the Satisfaction of all those who would advance Monies for the War, out of the Lands which should become forfeited."

AND this Proposition Being embraced, an Act was prepared to that Purpose; in which it was provided, "that the forfeited Lands in *Leinster*, *Munster*, *Conaught* and *Ulster*, should be valued at such several Rates by the Acre, and how many Acres in either should be assigned for the Satisfaction of one hundred Pounds, and so proportionally for greater Sums. That for all Monies which should be subscribed within so many Days (beyond which Time there should be no more Subscriptions) for that Service, one Moiety thereof should be paid to the Treasurer appointed, within few Days, for the present Preparations; and

" the

“the other Moiety be paid within six Months, upon
 “the Penalty of losing all Benefit from the first Pay-
 “ment. That when God should so bless their Armies
 “(which They doubted not of) that the Rebels should
 “be so near reduced, that They should be without
 “any Army or visible Power to support their Rebel-
 “lion; there should a Commission issue out, under
 “the Great Seal of *England*, to such Persons as should
 “be nominated by the Parliament, who should take
 “the best Way They could in their Discretion think
 “fit, to be informed whether the Rebels were totally
 “subdued, and so the Rebellion at an End. And up-
 “on their Declaration that the Work was fully done,
 “and the War finished, other Commissions should
 “likewise issue out, in the same Manner, for the con-
 “victing and attainting all those who were guilty of
 “the Treason and Rebellion by which their Estates
 “were become forfeited; and then other Commis-
 “sions, for the Distribution of the forfeited Lands to
 “the several *Adventurers*, according to the Sums of
 “Money advanced by them. The King was to be
 “restrained from making any Peace with the *Irish* Re-
 “bels, or Cessation, or from granting Pardon to any
 “of them; but such Peace, Cessation, or Pardon
 “should be looked upon as void and null.”

THIS Act the King had consented to and confirm-
 ed in the Year 1641, and in the Agony of many
 Troubles which that Rebellion had brought upon him,
 thinking it the only Means to put a speedy End to that
 accursed Rebellion, the Suppression whereof would
 free him from many Difficulties. And upon the Se-
 curity of this Act, very many Persons of all Qualities
 (61) and Affections subscribed and brought in the first
 Moiety of their Money, and were very properly styled
Adventurers. Great Sums of Money were daily brought
 in, and Preparations and Provisions and new Levies
 of Men were made for *Ireland*. But the Rebellion in
England being shortly after fomented by the Parlia-
 ment, They applied very much of that Money brought

in by the *Adventurers*, and many of the Troops which had been raised for that Service, immediately against the King: Which being notoriously known, and his Majesty complaining of it, many honest Gentlemen who had subscribed and paid one Moiety, refused to pay in the other Moiety at the Time, and so were liable to lose the Benefit of their Adventure; which They preferred before suffering their Money to be applied to the carrying on the Rebellion against the King, which They abhorred. And by this Means *Ireland* was unsupplied; and the Rebellion spread and prospered with little Opposition for some Time. And the Parliament, though the Time for subscribing was expired, enlarged it by Ordinances of their own to a longer Day, and easily prevailed with many of their own Party, principally Officers and Citizens, to subscribe and bring in their Money; to which it was no small Encouragement, that so many had lost the Benefit of their whole Adventure by not paying in the second Payment; which would make the Conditions of the new *Adventurers* the less hazardous.

WHEN the Success of the Parliament had totally subdued the King's Arms, and himself was so inhumanly murdered, neither the Forces in *Ireland* under the King's Authority, or the *Irish*, who had too late promised to submit to it, could make any long Resistance; so that *Cromwell* quickly dispersed them by his own Expedition thither: And by licensing as many as desired it to transport as many from thence, for the Service of the two Crowns of *France* and *Spain*, as They would contract for, quickly made a Disappearance of any Army in that Kingdom to oppose his Conquests. And after the Defeat of the King at *Worcester*, He seemed to all Men to be in as quiet a Possession of *Ireland* as of *England*, and to be as much without Enemies in the one as the other Kingdom; as in a short Time He had reduced *Scotland* to the same Exigent.

SHORT.

SHORTLY after that Time, when *Cromwell* was invested with the Office of Protector, all those Commissions were issued out, and all the Formality was used that was prescribed by that Act for the *Adventurers*. Not only all the *Irish* Nation (very few excepted) were found guilty of the Rebellion, and so to have forfeited all their Estates; but the Marquis of *Ormond*, the Lord *Inchiquin*, and all the *English Catholics*, and whosoever had served the King, were declared to be under the same Guilt; and the Lands seized upon for the Benefit of the State. There were very vast Arrears of Pay due to the Army, a great Part of which (now the War was ended) must be disbanded; for the doing whereof no Money was to be expected out of *England*, but They must be satisfied out of the Forfeitures of the other Kingdoms. The whole Kingdom was admeasured; the Accounts of the Money paid by the *Adventurers*, within the Time limited, and what was due to the Army for their Pay, were stated; and such Proportions of Acres in the several Provinces were assigned to the *Adventurers* and Officers and Soldiers, as were agreeable to the Act of Parliament, by Admeasurement. Where an Officer of Name had been likewise an *Adventurer*, his Adventure and Pay amounted to the more. And sometimes the whole Company and Regiment contracted for Money with their Captains or Colonels, and assigned their Interest in Land to them; and Possession was accordingly delivered without any Respect to any Titles by Law to former Settlements, or Descents of any Persons or their Wives or Children; except in some very few Cases, where the Wives had been great Heirs and could not be charged with any Crime, such Proportions were assigned as were rather agreeable to their own Conveniencies, than to Justice and the Right of the Claimers.

AND that every Body might with the more Security enjoy that which was assigned to him, They had found a Way to have the Consent of many to their

own Undoing. They found the utter Extirpation of the Nation (which They had intended) to be in itself very difficult, and to carry in it somewhat of Horror, that made some Impression upon the Stone-Hardness of their own Hearts. After so many Thousands destroyed by the Plague which raged over the Kingdom, by Fire, Sword, and Famine; and after so many Thousands transported into foreign Parts; there remained still such a numerous People, that They knew not how to dispose of: And though They were declared to be all forfeited, and so to have no Title to any Thing, yet They must remain somewhere. They therefore found this Expedient, which They called an *All of Grace*. There was a large Tract of Land, even to the Half of the Province of *Conaught*, that was separated from the rest by a long and a large River, and which by the Plague and many Massacres remained almost desolate. Into this Space and Circuit of Land They required all the *Irish* to retire by such a Day, under the Penalty of Death; and all who should after that Time be found in any other Part of the Kingdom, Man, Woman, or Child, should be killed by any Body who saw or met them. The Land within this Circuit, the most barren in the Kingdom, was out of the Grace and Mercy of the Conquerors assigned to those of the Nation who were enclosed, in such Proportions as might with great Industry preserve their Lives. And to those Persons, from whom They had taken great Quantities of Land in other Provinces, They assigned the greater Proportions within this Precinct; so that it fell to some Mens Lot, especially when They were accommodated with Houses, to have a competent Livelihood, though never to the fifth Part of what had been taken from them in a much better Province. And that They might not be exalted with this merciful Donative, it was a Condition that accompanied this their Accommodation, that They should all give Releases of their former Rights and Titles to the Land that was taken from them, in Consideration
of

of what was now assigned to them; and so They should for ever bar themselves and their Heirs from ever laying Claim to their old Inheritance. What should They do? They could not be permitted to go out of this Precinct to shift for themselves elsewhere; and without this Assignment They must starve here, as many did die every Day of Famine. In this deplorable Condition, and under this Consternation, They found themselves obliged to accept or submit to the hardest Conditions of their Conquerors, and so signed such Conveyances and Releases as were prepared for them, that They might enjoy those Lands which belonged to other Men.

AND by this Means the Plantation (as They called it) of *Conaught* was finished, and all the *Irish* Nation enclosed within that Circuit; the rest of *Ireland* being left to the *English*; some to the old Lords and just Proprietors, who being all *Protestants* (for no *Roman Catholick* was admitted) had either never offended them, or had served them, or had made Composition for their Delinquencies by the Benefit of some Articles; and some to the *Adventurers* and Soldiers. And a good and great Part (as I remember, the whole Province of *Tipperary*) *Cromwell* had reserved to himself, as a Demefne (as He called it) for the State, and in which no

(*) *Adventurer* or Soldier should demand his Lot to be assigned, and no Doubt intended both the State and it for the making great his own Family. It cannot be imagined in how easy a Method, and with what peaceable Formality, this whole great Kingdom was taken from the just Lords and Proprietors, and divided and given amongst those, who had no other Right to it but that They had Power to keep it; no Men having so great Shares as They who had been Instruments to murder the King, and were not like willingly to part with it to his Successor. Where any great Sums of Money for Arms, Ammunition, or any Merchandise, had been so long due that they were looked upon as desperate, the Creditors subscribed all those Sums as

lent upon Adventure, and had their Satisfaction assigned to them as *Adventurers*. Ireland was the great Capital, out of which all Debts were paid, all Services rewarded, and all Acts of Bounty performed. And which is more wonderful, all this was done and settled, within little more than two Years, to that Degree of Perfection, that there were many Buildings raised for Beauty as well as Use, orderly and regular Plantations of Trees, and Fences and Enclosures raised throughout the Kingdom, Purchases made by one from the other at very valuable Rates, and Jointures made upon Marriages, and all other Conveyances and Settlements executed, as in a Kingdom at Peace within itself, and where no Doubt could be made of the Validity of Titles. And yet in all this Quiet, there were very few Persons pleased or contented.

AND these Deputies for the *Adventurers*, and for those who called themselves *Adventurers*, came not only to ask the King's Consent and Approbation of what had been done (which They thought in Justice He could not deny, because all had been done upon the Warrant of a legal Act of Parliament) but to complain "that Justice had not been equally done in the
"Distributions; that this Man had received much less
"than was his Due, and others as much more than
"was their Due; that one had had great Quantities
"of Bogs and waste Land assigned to him as tenant-
"able, and another as much allowed as Bogs and
"Waste, which in Truth were very tenable Lands."
And upon the whole Matter, They all desired "a
"Review might be made, that Justice might be done
"to all;" every Man expecting an Addition to what
He had already, not suspecting that any Thing would
be taken from him to be restored to the true Owner.

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AND this Agitation raised another Party of *Adventurers*, who thought They had at least as good a Right as any of the other; and that was, They, or the Heirs and Executors of them, who upon the first making of the Act of Parliament, had subscribed several good Sums

Sums of Money, and paid in their first Moieties; but the Rebellion coming on, and the Monies already paid in being notoriously and visibly employed contrary to the Act, and against the Person of the King himself, They had out of Conscience forborne to pay the second Moiety, lest it might also be so employed; whereby, according to the Rigour of the Law, They lost the Benefit of the first Payment. And They had hitherto sustained that Loss, with many other, without having ever applied themselves for Relief. "But now when it had pleased God to restore the King, and so many who had not deserved very well desired Help from the King upon the Equity of that Act of Parliament, where the Letter of the Law would do them no Good, They presumed to think, that by the Equity of the Law They ought to be satisfied for the Money They did really pay; and that They should not undergo any Damage for not paying the other Moiety, which out of Conscience and for his Majesty's Service They had forborne to do." No Man will doubt but that the King was very well inclined to gratify this *Classis of Adventurers*, when He should find it in his Power. But it is Time to return to the Committee and Deputies of the other Parties in that distracted Kingdom.

4. THERE was a Committee sent from the Army that was in present Pay in *Ireland* "for the Arrears due to them," which was for above a Year's Pay; most of those who had received Satisfaction in Land for what was then due to them, as well Officers as Soldiers, being then disbanded, that They might attend their Plantations and Husbandry, but in Truth because They were for the most Part of the Presbyterian Faction, and so suspected by *Cromwell* not to be enough inclined to him. The Army now on Foot, and to whom so great Arrears were due, consisted for the greatest Part of *Independants, Anabaptists, and Levelers*, who had corresponded with and been directed by the General, when He marched from *Scotland* against *Lam-*

4. A Committee from the Army.

The Continuation of the Life of

Lambert: And therefore He had advised the King to declare, “that He would pay all Arrears due to the “Army in *Ireland*, and ratify the Satisfaction that had “been given to *Adventurers*, Officers and Soldiers “there;” which his Majesty had accordingly signified by his Declaration from *Breda*. And whoever considers the Temper and Constitution of that Army then on Foot in that Kingdom, and the Body of *Presbyterians* that had been disbanded, and remained still there in their Habitations, together with the Body of *Adventurers*, all *Presbyterians* or *Anabaptists*; and at the same Time remembers the Disposition and general Affection of the Army in *England*, severed from their Obedience to the General and the good Affection of some few superiour Officers; will not wonder that the King endeavoured; if it had been possible, rather to please all, than by any unseasonable Discovery of a Resolution, how just soever, to make any Party desperate; there being none so inconsiderable, as not to have been able to do much Mischief.

5. A Committee from the Officers who had served the King.

5. THE Satisfaction that the Officers and Soldiers had received in Land, and the Demand of the present Army, had caused another Committee to be sent and employed by those reformed Officers, who had served the King under the Command of the Marquis of *Ormond*, from the Beginning of the Rebellion to the End thereof, with Courage and Fidelity; and had since shifted beyond the Seas, and some of them in his Majesty's Service, or suffered patiently in that Kingdom under the Insolence of their Oppressors; who, because They had always fought against the *Irish*, were by Articles, upon the laying down their Arms when They could no longer hold them in their Hands, permitted to remain in their own Houses, or such as They could get within that Kingdom. These Gentlemen thought it a very incongruous Thing, “that “They, who had constantly fought against the King's “Father and himself, should receive their Pay and “Reward by his Majesty's Care, Bounty and Assigna-
tion;

"tion; and that They who had as constantly fought
 "for Both, should be left to undergo all Want and
 "Misery now his Majesty was restored to his own."
 And They believed their Suit to be the more reasonable, at least the easier to be granted, by having brought an Expedient with them to facilitate their Satisfaction. There had been some old Order or Ordinance that was looked upon as a Law, whereby it was provided, that all Houses within Cities or Corporate Towns, which were forfeited, should be reserved to be specially disposed of by the State, or in such a Manner as it should direct, to the End that all Care might be taken what Manner of Men should be the Inhabitants of such important Places: And therefore such Houses had not been nor were to be promiscuously assigned to *Adventurers*, Officers, or Soldiers, and so remained hitherto undisposed of. And these reformed Officers of the King made it their Suit, that those Houses might be assigned to them in Proportions, according to what might appear to be due to their several Conditions and Degrees in Command. And to this Petition, which might seem equitable in itself, the Commissioners from the State gave their full Approbation and Consent, being ready to take all the Opportunities to ingratiate themselves towards those whom They had oppressed as long as They were able, and to be reputed to love the King's Party.

6. LASTLY, there was a Committee for or rather the whole Body of the *Irish Catholics*, who, with less Modesty than was suitable to their Condition, demanded in Justice to be restored to all the Lands that had been taken from them; alleging "that They were all
 "at least as innocent as any of them were, to whom
 "their Lands had been assigned." They urged "their
 "early Submission to the King, and the Peace They
 "had first made with the Marquis of *Ormond*, by
 "which an Act of Indemnity had been granted for
 "what Offences soever had been committed, except
 "such in which none of them were concerned." They urged,

6. A Committee for the Roman Catholics.

"that the Peace They had made with the Mar-
 "quis of Ormonde upon this King's first coming to the
 "Crown, wherein a Grant of Amnestie was again
 "made to them." And consequently, though very
 "well they, pressed - that the Benefit of all those Ar-
 "mour which were captured in this Peace, might
 "be so granted and delivered to them, since They
 "had been fighting to manage or further them, but
 "had been oppressed and broken as all his Majesty's
 "other Forces had been." They urged - the Ser-
 "vice They had done to the King beyond the Seas,
 "having been always ready to obey his Commands,
 "and stayed in or left France or Spain as his Majesty
 "had commanded them, and were for the last two
 "Years received and liked as his own Troops, and
 "in his own actual Service, under the Duke of York."
 They pressed "the insolerable Tyranny They had
 "suffered under, now almost twenty Years; the Mas-
 "sacres and Servitude They had undergone, such De-
 "vastation and laying waste their Country, such bloody
 "Cruelty and Executions inflicted on them, as had
 "never been known nor could be paralleled amongst
 "Christians: That their Nation almost was become
 "desolated, and their Sufferings of all Kinds had been
 "to such an Extent, that They hoped had satiated
 "their most implacable Enemies." And therefore
 They humbly besought his Majesty, "that in this
 "general Joy for his Majesty's blessed Restoration,
 "and in which Nobody could rejoice more than They,
 "when all his Majesty's Subjects of his two other
 "Kingdoms (whereof many were not more innocent
 "than themselves) had *their Mouths filled with Laugh-*
 "*ter*, and had all their Hearts could desire, the poor
 "*Irish* alone might not be condemned to perpetual
 "Weeping and Misery by his Majesty's own imme-
 "diate Act." Amongst these, with the same Con-
 "fidence, They who had been transplanted into *Con-*
 "*naught* appeared, related the Circumstances of the Per-
 "secution They had undergone, and "how impossi-
 "ble

had been for them to refuse their Submission: They had no Power to resist; and therefore: would be against all Conscience to allege own Consent, and their Releases and other, which had They not consented to in that of Time, They, their Wives and Children, not have lived four and twenty Hours." All particulars were great Motives to Compassion, moved his Majesty's Heart to wish that any Ex- might be found, which might consist with and necessary Policy, that though it might not seem very happy, yet might preserve them from until He should hereafter find some Oppor- to repair their Condition according to their services and Merit.

several Addresses being presented to his together, before any Thing was yet settled in and every Party of them finding some Friends, and the King's Ears with specious Discourses on half for whom They spake, and with bitter cries against all the rest; He was almost confounded how to begin, and in what Method to put an end to the continuation of all their Pretences, that He might be able to take such a View of them, as to be able to find some Remedy, that might keep the Disease from increasing and growing worse, until He could find the Cure. He had no Mind the Parliament should interpose and meddle in it, which would have been hateful to no Party; and by good Fortune they were so full of Business that They thought themselves nearer, that They had no Mind to exact Cognizance of this of *Ireland*, which they all knew properly depended upon the King's Royal Pleasure and Commands. But these Addresses were all of so contradictory a Nature, so inconsistent with each other, and so impossible to be reconciled, that if all *Ireland* could be sold at its full Value (as if Kingdoms could be valued at a just Rate) it was not a fit Chapman or Purchaser to disburse the Sum,

The King greatly perplexed with these contradictory Addresses.

Sum, it could not yield Half enough to satisfy Half their Demands; and yet the King was not in a Condition positively to deny any one Party that which They desired.

THE Commissioners from the State, in Respect of their Quality, Parts and Interest, and in Regard of their Mission and Authority, seemed the most proper Persons to be treated with, and the most like to be prevailed upon not to insist upon any Thing that was most profoundly unreasonable. They had all their own just Fears, if the King should be severe; and there would have been a general Concurrence in all the rest; that He should have taken a full Vengeance upon them: But then They who had most Cause to fear, thought They might raise their Hopes highest from that Power that sent them, and which had yet Interest enough to do Good and Hurt; and They thought themselves secure in the King's Declaration from *Breda*, and his Offer of Indemnity, which comprehended them. Then They were all desirous to merit from the King; and their not loving one another, disposed them the more to do any Thing that might be grateful to his Majesty. But They were all united and agreed in one unhappy Extreme, that made all their other Devotion less applicable to the publick Peace, that is, their implacable Malice to the *Iri/b*: Inasmuch as They concurred in their Desire, that They might gain Nothing by the King's Return, but be kept with the same Rigour, and under the same Incapacity to do Hurt, which They were till then. For which Instance They were not totally without Reason, from their barbarous Behaviour in the first Beginning of the Rebellion, which could not be denied, and from their having been compelled to submit to and undergo the most barbarous Servitude, that could not be forgotten. And though Eradication was too foul a Word to be uttered in the Ears of a Christian Prince, yet it was little less or better that They proposed in other Words, and hoped to obtain; Whereas the

the King thought that miserable People to be as worthy of his Favour, as most of the other Parties; and that his Honour, Justice and Policy, as far as they were restrained by Laws and Contracts, obliged him more to preserve them, at least as much as He could. And yet it can hardly be believed, how few Men, in all other Points very reasonable, and who were far from Cruelty in their Nature, cherished that (6) Inclination in the King; but thought it in him, and more in his Brother, to proceed from other Reasons than They published: Whilst others, who pretended to be only moved by Christian Charity and Compassion, were more cruel towards them, and made them more miserable, by extorting great Engagements from them for their Protection and Intercession, which being performed would leave them in as forlorn a Condition as They were found.

IN this Intricacy and Perplexity, the King thought it necessary to begin with settling his own Authority in one Person over that Kingdom, who should make Haste thither, and establish such a Council there, and all Courts of Justice, and other civil Officers, as might best contribute towards bringing the rest in Order. And to this Purpose He made Choice of several Persons of the Robe, who had been known by or recommended to the Marquis of *Ormond*, but of more by the Advice and Promotion of *Daniel O Neile* of his Bedchamber, who preferred a Friend of his and an *Irishman* to the Office of Attorney General, a Place in that Conjuncture of vast Importance to the Settlement, and many other to be Judges. And all this List was made and settled without the least Communication with the Chancellor, who might have been presumed to be easily informed of that Rank of Men. But to find a Person fit to send thither in the supreme Authority, was long deliberated by the King, and with Difficulty to be resolved. The General continued Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, which He had no Mind to quit, for He had a great Estate there, having for some Time been

*The General
continues Lord
Lieutenant.*

been General of that Army, and received for the Arrears of his Pay, and by *Cromwell's* Bounty, and by some Purchases He made of the Soldiers, an Estate of at least four thousand Pounds *per Annum*, which He thought He could best preserve in the supreme Government; though He was willing to have it believed in the City and the Army, that He retained it only for the Good of the *Adventurers*, and that the Soldiers might be justly dealt with for their Arrears. Whatsoever his Reason was, as Profit was the highest Reason always with him, whoever was to be Deputy must be subordinate to him, which no Man of the greatest Quality would be, though He was to have his Commission from the King, and the same Jurisdiction in the Absence of the Lieutenant. There were some few fit for the Employment, who were not willing to undertake it; and many who were willing to undertake it, but were not fit.

UPON the View of those of all Sorts, the King most inclined to the Lord *Roberts*, who was a Man of more than ordinary Parts, well versed in the Knowledge of the Laws, and esteemed of Integrity not to be corrupted by Money. But then He was a fullen morose Man, intolerably proud, and had some Humours as inconvenient as small Vices, which made him hard to live with, and which were afterwards more discovered than at that Time foreseen. He had been in the Beginning of the Rebellion a leading Man in their Councils, and a great Officer in their Army, wherein He expressed no Want of Courage. But after the Defeat of the Earl of *Essex* his Army in *Cornwall*, which was imputed to his Positiveness and Undertaking for his County, the Friendship between him and that Earl was broken. And from that Time He did not only quit his Command in the Army, but declined their Councils, and remained for the most Part in the Country; where He censured their Proceedings, and had his Conversation most with those who were known to wish well to the King, and who gave him a great Testi-

Testimony, as if He would be glad to serve his Majesty upon the first Opportunity. The Truth is, the Wickedness of the succeeding Time was so much superiour and overshadowed all that had been done before, that They who had only been in Rebellion with the Earl of *Essex*, looked upon themselves as innocent, and justified their own Allegiance, by loading the Memory of *Cromwell* with all the Reproaches and Maledictions imaginable. The greatest Exception that the King had to the Lord *Roberts*, who was already of the Privy Council by the Recommendation and Instance of the General, was, that He was generally esteemed a *Presbyterian*, which would make him unfit for that Trust for many Reasons; besides that He would not cheerfully act the King's Part in restoring and advancing the Government of the Church, which the King was resolved to settle with all the Advantages which He could contribute towards it. Nor did the Lord *Roberts* profess to be an Enemy to Episcopacy.

BEFORE the King would make any publick Declaration of his Purpose He sent the Lord Treasurer and the Chancellor, who were most acquainted with him, to confer freely with him, and to let him know the good Esteem his Majesty had of him, and of his Abilities to serve him. "That the Government of *Ireland* would require "a very steady and a prudent Man: That the General "did not intend to go into that Kingdom, and yet "would remain Lieutenant thereof, from which Office "his Majesty knew not how nor thought it seasonable "to remove him, and therefore that the Place must "be supplied by a Deputy; for which Office the King "thought him the most fit, if it were not for one Objection, which He had given them Leave to inform "him of particularly, there being but one Person "more privy to his Majesty's Purpose, who was the "Marquis of *Ormond*; and that He might conclude, "that the King was desirous to receive Satisfaction to "his Objection, by the Way He took to communicate it to him." And then They told him, "that "He

“He had the Reputation of being a *Presbyterian*, and
 “that his Majesty would take his own Word, whether
 “He was or was not one.”

He answered without any Kind of Ceremony, to
 “which He was not devoted, or so much as acknow-
 “ledging the King’s Favour in his Enquiry, “That no
 “*Presbyterian* thought him to be a *Presbyterian*, or
 “that He loved their Party. He knew them too
 “well. That there could be no Reason to suspect
 “him to be such, but that which might rather induce
 “Men to believe him to be a good *Protestant*, that He
 “went constantly to Church as well in the Afternoons
 “as Forenoons on the *Sundays*, and on those Days for-
 “bore to use those Exercises and Recreations, which
 “He used to do all the Week besides.” He desired
 them “to assure the King, that He was so far from
 “a *Presbyterian*, that He believed Episcopacy to be
 “the best Government the Church could be subject
 “to.” They asked him then, “whether He would
 “be willing to receive that Government of Deputy of
 “*Ireland*, if the King were willing to confer it upon
 “him.” There He let himself to fall to an Acknow-
 “ledgment of the King’s Goodness, “that He thought
 “him worthy of so great an Honour:” But He could
 not conceal the Disdain He had of the General’s Per-
 son, nor how unwilling He was to receive Orders
 from him, or to be an Officer under his Command.
 They told him, “that there would be a Necessity of
 “a good Correspondence between them, both whilst
 “They stayed together in *England*, and when He
 “should be in *Ireland*; but beyond that there would
 “be no Obligation upon him, for that He was to re-
 “ceive his Commission immediately from the King,
 “containing as ample Powers as were in the Lieute-
 “nant’s own Commission: That He was not the Lieu-
 “tenant’s Deputy, but the King’s; only that his Com-
 “mission ceased when the Lieutenant should be upon
 “the Place, which He was never like to be.” Upon
 the whole Matter, though it appeared that the Supe-
 riority

riority was a great Mortification to him, He said, "that He referred himself wholly to the King to be disposed of as He thought best for his Service, and "that He would behave himself with all possible Fidelity to him."

UPON this Report made to the King, shortly after, *Lord Roberts* his Majesty in Council declared, "that He had made *made Deputy of Ireland.* "the *Lord Roberts* Deputy of *Ireland*," and then charged him, "that He would prepare as soon as was possible for his Journey thither, when those Officers, who were designed by him for the civil Justice of the Kingdom, should be ready to attend upon him; and in the mean Time that He would send the Commissioners, and all others who solicited any Thing that had Reference to *Ireland*, to wait upon him, to the End, that He being well informed of the Nature and Consistency of the several Pretences, and of the general State of the Kingdom, might be the better able to advise his Majesty upon the whole Matter, and to prescribe, for the entering upon it by Parts, such a Method, that his Majesty might with less Perplexity give his own Determination in those Particulars, which must chiefly depend upon himself and his Direction." Thus the King gave himself a little Ease, by referring the Gross to the Lord Deputy, in whose Hands we shall for the present leave it, that We may take a View of the other Particulars that more immediately related to *England*; though We shall be shortly called back again to *Ireland*, which enjoyed little Repose in the Hands in which it was put.

THE Parliament spent most of the Time upon the *Transactions in Parliament concerning the Act of Indemnity.* *Act of Indemnity.* in which private Passions and Animosities prevailed very far; one Man contending to preserve this Man, who, though amongst the foulest Offenders, had done him some Courtesy in the Time of his Power; and another with as much Passion and Bitterness endeavouring to have another condemned, who could not be distinguished from the whole Herd

by any infamous Guilt, and who had disoblighd him, or refused to oblige him, when it was in his Power to have done it. The King had positively excepted none from Pardon, because He was to refer the Whole to them; but had clearly enough expressed, that He presumed that They would not suffer any of those who had sate as Judges upon his Father, and condemned him to be murdered, to remain alive. And the guilty Persons themselves made so little Doubt of it, that They made what Shift They could to make their Escape into the Parts beyond the Seas; and many of them had transported themselves, whilst others lay concealed for other Opportunities; and some were apprehended when They endeavoured to fly, and so were imprisoned.

THE Parliament published a Proclamation, "that
 "all who did not render themselves by a Day named,
 "should be judged as guilty, and attainted of Treason;" which many consented to, conceiving it to amount to no more than a common Process at Law to bring Men to Justice. But it was no sooner out, than all They who had concealed themselves in Order to be transported, rendered themselves to the Speaker of the House of Commons, and were by him committed to the *Tower*. And the House conceived itself engaged to save those Mens Lives, who had put themselves into their Power upon that Presumption. The House of Peers insisted upon it in many Conferences, that the Proclamation could bear no such Interpretation; but as it condemned all who by flying declined the Justice of the Kingdom, so it admitted as many as would appear to plead their own Innocence, which if They could prove They would be safe. But the guilty, and with them the House of Commons, declared, "that They could not but understand, that They who
 "rendered themselves should be in a better Condition⁽⁷⁰⁾
 "than They who fled beyond the Seas, which They
 "were not in any Degree, if They were put upon
 "their Trial; for to be tried and to be condemned
 "was

"was the same Thing, since the Guilt of all was
 "equally notorious and manifest." And this Kind of
 Reasoning prevailed upon the Judgments and Under-
 standings of many, who had all Manner of Detesta-
 tion for the Persons of the Men. In the End, the
 House of Peers after long Contests was obliged to con-
 sent, "that all the Persons who were fled, and those
 "who had not rendered themselves, should be brought
 "to a Trial and attainted according to Law, together
 "with those who were or should be taken;" whereby
 They would forfeit all their Estates to the King: "But
 "for those who had rendered themselves upon the Faith
 "of the Parliament," as They called it, "They should
 "remain in such Prisons as his Majesty thought fit
 "during their Lives, and neither of them be put to
 "Death without Consent of Parliament."

BUT then as by this Means too many of those im-
 pious Persons remained alive, and some others who
 were as bad as any, were upon some Testimony of the
 General, and by other Interpositions of Friends upon
 the Allegation of Merit and Services, preserved, with
 the King's Consent too easily obtained, so much as
 from Attainder; so to make some Kind of Amends
 for this unhappy Lenity, They resolved to except a
 Multitude of those They were most angry with from
 Pardon as to their Estates, and to fine others in great
 Sums of Money; when worse Men, at least as bad,
 of either *Classis* were exempted, as included, by the
 Power of their Friends who were present in the Debate.
 And this Contradiction and Faction brought such a
 Spirit into the House, as disturbed all other Counsels;
 whilst Men, who wished well enough to the Matter
 proposed, opposed the passing it, to cross other Men
 who had refused to agree with them in the pardoning
 or not pardoning of Persons: Which Dissention divi-
 ded the House into great Animosities. And without
 Doubt, the King's Credit and Authority was at that
 Time so great in the House of Commons, that He
 could have taken full Vengeance upon many of those

with whom He had Reason to be offended, by causing them to be exempted from Pardon, or exposed to some Damage of Estate. And there wanted not many, who used all the Credit They had, to inflame the King to that Retaliation and Revenge.

AND it was then and more afterwards imputed to the Chancellor, that there were no more Exceptions in the *Act of Indemnity*, and that He laboured for Expedition of passing it, and for excluding any extraordinary Exceptions; which Reproach He neither then, or ever after, was solicitous to throw off. But his Authority and Credit, though He at that Time was generally esteemed, could not have prevailed in that Particular (wherein there were few Men without some Temptation to Anger and Indignation, and none more than He, who had undergone Injuries and Indignities from many Men then alive) but that it was very evident to the King himself, and to all dispassioned Men, that no Person was so much concerned, though all were enough, that there should be no longer Delay in passing the *Act of Indemnity*, as the King himself was; there being no Progress made in any other Business, by the Disorder and ill Humour that grew out of that. There was no Attempt to be made towards disbanding the Army, until the *Act of Indemnity* should be first passed; nor could They begin to pay off the Navy, till They were ready to pay off the Arrears of the Army. This was the *Remora* in all the Counsels; whilst there wanted not those, who infused Jealousies into the Minds of the Soldiers, and into the City, "that the King had no Purpose ever to consent to the "*Act of Indemnity*," which was looked upon as the only universal Security for the Peace of the Nation: And⁽⁷⁾ till that was done, no Man could say that He dwelt at Home, nor the King think himself in any good Posture of Security. And therefore no Man was more impatient, and more instant in Council and Parliament, to remove all Causes which obstructed that Work, than the Chancellor. And He put the King
in

The King concerned at the Delays in passing it.

in Mind, "how much He had opposed some Clauses "and Expressions which were in the Declaration and "Letters from *Breda*," which notwithstanding were inserted, as most agreeable to the General's Advice; and that He then said to his Majesty, in the Presence of those who were consulted with, "that it would "come to his Turn to insist upon the Performance of "those Concessions, which He was against the making of, when many others would oppose them, "which may-be at that present would advise much "larger:" Which his Majesty acknowledged to be true, and confessed upon many Occasions. And the Chancellor did in Truth conceive, that the King's taking Advantage of the good Inclinations of the House to him, to dispose them to fall upon many Persons, who were Men of another *Classis* to those He desired might be excepted (and of which Prospect there could be no End, every Man having Cause to fear his own Security by what He saw his Neighbour suffer who was as innocent) was directly contrary to the Sense and Integrity of his Declaration, and therefore to be avoided; and that all Things were to be done by him that might facilitate and advance the disbanding, that so the Peace of the Kingdom might again depend upon the civil Justice and Magistrates thereof. And all Men who understood in how ticklish a Condition it then stood, concurred in that Advice.

AND this was the Reason that the King used his Authority, and They who were trusted by him their Credit and Interest, for the suppressing those Animofities, which had irreconciled many Persons between themselves who were of publick Affections, by the Nomination of particular Persons whose Estates should be made liable to Penalties, the imposing of which must again depend upon the Parliament; which, besides the Consumption of Time which was very precious, would renew and continue the same Spirit of Division, which already had done too much Mischief,

*He interposes
with the Par-
liament.*

*And gets it
passed.*

and would inevitably have done much more. But by this Temper and Composition the *Act of Indemnity* was finished, passed the House of Peers, and received the Royal Assent, to the wonderful Joy of the People. And present Orders were given for the disbanding the Army and Payment of the Navy, as fast as Money came in, for which several Acts of Parliament were formerly passed. And by the former Delays, the intolerable Burden both of Army and Navy lay upon the Kingdom near six Months after the King's Return, and amounted not to so little as one hundred thousand Pounds by the Month; which raised a vast Debt that was called the King's, who had incessantly desired to have it prevented from the first Hour of his Arrival.

AFTER the *Bill of Indemnity* was passed, with some other as important Acts for the publick Peace, (as the preserving those Proceedings, which had been in Courts of Justice for near twenty Years, from being ravelled into again as void or invalid, because they had been before Judges not legally qualified, which would have brought an intolerable Burden upon the Subject; and some other Acts) the Parliament was willing to adjourn for some Time; that their Members, who were appointed to attend the disbanding the Army in several Places, and the Payment of the Navy, might be absent with less Inconvenience: And the King was as willing to have some Ease. And so it was adjourned for a Month or six Weeks; in which Time, and even in the Middle of the disbanding, there happened a very strange Accident, that was Evidence enough of the Temper or Distemper of the Time.

*The Parliament
was adjourn-
ed.*

THE Trial of those infamous Persons who were in Prison for the Murder of the King (and who were appointed by the *Act of Indemnity* to be proceeded against with Rigour, and who could not be tried till that Vote was passed) was no sooner over; and the Persons executed with some of the same Crew, who being in *Holland* and *Ilanders* were, by the Permission and Connivance

vance of the Magistrates, taken by the King's Ministers there, and brought into *England*, and put to Death with their Companions; but the People of that *Class* who were called *Fanaticks*, discovered a wonderful Malignity in their Discourses, and Vows of Revenge for their innocent Friends. They caused the Speeches They had made at their Deaths to be printed, in which there was Nothing of Repentance or Sorrow for their Wickedness, but a Justification of what They had done for the Cause of God; and had several Meetings to consult of the best Way to attempt their Revenge, and of bringing themselves into the same Posture of Authority and Power, which They formerly had. The disbanding the Army seemed a good Expedient to contribute to their Ends: And They doubted not, but as fast as They disbanded They would repair to them, which They could not so well do till then, because of the many new Officers who had been lately put over them; and to that Purpose They had their Agents in several Regiments to appoint Rendezvous. They had Conference of assassinating the General, "who," They said, "had betrayed them, and "was the only Person who kept the Army together."

MATTERS being in this State, and some of their Companions every Day taken and imprisoned upon Discovery of their Purposes, the King being gone to *Portsmouth*, and the Parliament adjourned, They appointed a Rendezvous in several Places of *London* at twelve of the Clock in the Night; the same being assigned to their Friends in the Country. They had not Patience to make Use of the Silence of the Night, till They could draw their several Bodies together. But their several Rendezvous no sooner met, than They fell into Noise and Exclamations, "that all "Men should take Arms to assist the LORD JESUS "CHRIST;" and when the Watch came towards them, They resolutely defended themselves, and killed many of those who came to assault them: So that the Alarm was in a short Time spread over the City, and

*Venner raises
an Insurrec-
tion of the
Fanaticks in
London.*

and from thence was carried to *Whitehall*, where the Duke of *York* was and the General, with a Regiment of Guards and some Horse, which were quickly drawn together.

SIR *Richard Browne* was then Lord Mayor of *London*, a very stout and vigilant Magistrate, who was equally feared and hated by all the seditious Party, for his extraordinary Zeal and Resolution in the King's Service. Nor was there any Man in *England*, who did raze out the Memory of what He had formerly done amiss, with a more signal Acknowledgment, or a more frank and generous Engagement against all Manner of Factions, which opposed or obstructed his Majesty's Service; which made him terrible and odious to all, and to none more than to the *Presbyterians*, who had formerly seduced him. Upon the Alarum, which of itself had scattered many of the Conspirators as They were going to or were upon the Places to which They were assigned, He was quickly upon his Horse, accompanied with as many Soldiers, Officers and Friends as He could speedily draw together; and with those marched towards that Place where the most Noise was made, and in his Way met many who ran from the Fury of those, "who," They said, "were in Arms," and reported "their Numbers to be very great, and that They killed all who opposed them."⁽⁷³⁾ And true it was They had killed some, and charged a Body of the Trainbands with so much Courage, that it retired with Disorder. Yet when the Mayor came, He found the Number so small, not above thirty Men, that He commanded them to lay down their Arms; which when They refused to do, He charged them briskly. And They defended themselves with that Courage and Despair, that They killed and wounded many of his Men; and very few of them yielded or would receive Quarter, till They were overborne with Numbers or fainted with Wounds, and so were taken and laid Hands on.

THEIR

THEIR Captain, who was to command the whole Party in *London*, and had for his Device in his Ensign these Words, THE LORD GOD AND GIDEON, was a Wine-Cooper of a competent Estate, a very strong Man, who defended himself with his Sword, and killed some of those who assaulted him, till He fell with his Wounds, as some other about him did; all whom He had persuaded, that They should be able to do as much upon their Enemies, as *Jobatban* and his Armour Bearer did upon the *Pbilistines*, or any others in the Old Testament had upon those whom the Lord delivered into their Hands. Nor could it be found upon all his Examinations, that there was any other formed Design, than what must probably attend the Declaration of the Army, of which He was assured. He and the other hurt Men were committed to the Gaol, and to the special Charge of the Surgeons, that They might be preserved for a Trial.

THE next Morning the Council met early, and having received an Account of all that had passed, They could not but conclude, that this so extravagant an Attempt could not be founded upon the Rashness of one Man, who had been always looked upon as a Man of Sense and Reason. And thereupon They thought it necessary to suspend the disbanding the General's Regiment of Foot, which had the Guard of *Whitehall*, and was by the Order of Parliament to have been disbanded the next Day; and writ to the King "to approve of what They had done, and to appoint "it to be continued till farther Order," which his Majesty consented to. And this was the true Ground and Occasion of the continuing and increasing the Guard for his Majesty's Person, which no Man at that Time thought to be more than was necessary. Order was given for the speedy Trial of *Venner* and his Accomplices; many whereof with himself would have died of their Wounds, if their Trial had been deferred for many Days: But the Surgeons Skill preserved them till then, where They made no other Defence for themselves

*For which He
and several of
his Associates
are executed.*

selves than what is before mentioned; nor did then, or at their Deaths (there being ten or a dozen executed) make the least Show of Sorrow for what They had attempted.

THERE is no Occasion for mentioning more of the particular Proceedings of this Parliament, which though it met afterwards at the Time appointed, and proceeded with all Duty to the King, in raising great Sums of Money for the Army and the Navy, and for the Payment of other great Debts, which They thought themselves concerned to discharge, and which had never been incurred by the King; and likewise passed many good Acts for the settling a future Revenue for the Crown, and a Vote that They would raise that Revenue to twelve hundred thousand Pounds yearly: Yet They gave not any Thing to the King himself (all the rest was received and paid by those who were deputed by them to that Purpose) but seventy thousand Pounds towards the Discharge of his Coronation, which He had appointed to be in the Beginning of *May* following. And this seventy thousand Pounds was all the Money the King received or could dispose of, in a full Year after his Coming to *London*; so that⁽⁷⁴⁾ there could not but be a very great Debt contracted in that Time, for the Payment whereof He must afterwards provide as well as He could. I say, I shall not mention more of the Particulars of that Parliament, because it was foreseen by all, that though their Meeting had produced all those good Effects, in the restoring the King, disbanding the Army, and many other Things, which could be wished; yet that the lasting Validity of all They had done, would depend upon another Parliament to be legally summoned by the King with all those Formalities which this wanted; and the Confirmation of that Parliament would be necessary for the People's Security, that They should enjoy all that this had granted: So that when I shall speak again of the Proceedings of Parliament,

liament, it will be of that Parliament which will be called by his Majesty's Writ.

ONLY before We dissolve this, and because there hath been so little said of the License and Distemper in Religion, which his Majesty exceedingly apprehended would have received some Countenance from the Parliament; We shall remember, that the King having by his Declaration from *Breda* referred the composing and settling all that related to the Government of the Church to the Parliament, He could do Nothing towards it himself: But by his gracious Reception of the old Bishops who were still alive, and his own Practice in his Devotions and the Government of his Royal Chapel, He declared sufficiently what should be done in other Places. The Party of the *Presbyterians* was very numerous in the House of Commons, and had before the King's Return made a Committee to devise such a Government for the Church, as might either totally exclude Bishops, or make them little superiour to the rest of the Clergy. But the Spirit of the Time had of itself elected many Members, notwithstanding the Injunctions sent out with the Writs, and expressly contrary to such Injunctions, of a very different Alay; who together with such as were chosen after his Majesty's Return, were numerous enough to obstruct and check any Prevalence of that Party, though not of Power enough to compel them to consent to sober Counsels. And so the Business was kept still at the Committee, now and then getting Ground, and then cast back again, as the sober Members attended; so that no Report was brought to the House from thence, which might have given the King some Trouble. And by Degrees the Heads of that Party grew weary of the Warmth of their Prosecution, which They saw not like to produce any notable Fruit that They cared for. The King desired no more than that They should do Nothing, being sure that in a little Time He should himself do the Work best. And so in *September* when He adjourned them, He took Notice "that
They

“They had offered him no Advice towards the composing the Dissentions in Religion, and therefore He would try in that short Adjournment of the Parliament, what He could do towards it himself.

AND thereupon He was himself present many Days, and for many Hours each Day, at a Conference between many of the *London* Ministers, who were the Heads of the Presbyterian Party, with an equal Number of the Orthodox Clergy, who had been for so many Years deprived of all that They had: Which Conference was held at *Worcester-House* in the Chancellor's Lodgings, to consider what Ceremonies should be retained in the Church, and what Alterations should be made in the Liturgy that had been formerly used; and the Substance of this Conference was afterwards published in Print. The King upon this published a Declaration concerning Ecclesiastical Affairs, wherein He took Notice “of the Conference that had been “in his own Presence, and that He had commanded the “Clergy of Both Sides to meet together at the *Savoy* in (71) “the Master's Lodgings, and if it were possible, to agree “upon such an *Act of Uniformity*, that might be confirmed in Parliament.” And in the mean Time “He signified his Pleasure, that Nobody should be “punished for not using *The Book of Common Prayer* “which had been formerly established, or for discontinuing the Surplice, and the Sign of the Cross; “and that all who desired to conform to the old “Practice in the using them all, should be at the same “Liberty:” Which Declaration was read to, and put into the Hands of the Divines of Both Sides for some Days; and then They were again heard before his Majesty at *Worcester-House*. And though it cannot be denied, that either Party did desire that somewhat might be put in, and somewhat left out, in neither of which they were gratified; yet it is most true, They were Both well content with it, or seemed so. And the Declaration was published in his Majesty's Name before the Return of the Parliament.

The King publishes a Declaration concerning Ecclesiastical Affairs.

HERE

HERE I cannot but instance two Acts of the *Pres-* Two Influences
of the Disin-
genuity of the
Presbyterian
Ministers.
byterians, by which, if their Humour and Spirit were
 not enough discovered and known, their Want of In-
 genuity and Integrity would be manifest, and how im-
 possible is it for Men who would not be deceived to
 depend on either. When the Declaration had been
 delivered to the Ministers, there was a Clause in it,
 in which the King declared "his own constant Prac-
 tice of *The Common Prayer*, and that He would take
 "it well from those who used it in their Churches,
 "that the common People might be again acquainted
 "with the Piety, Gravity and Devotion of it, and
 "which he thought would facilitate their living in
 "a good Neighbourhood together;" or Words to that
 Effect. When They had considered the Whole some
 Days, Mr. *Calamy* and some other Ministers deputed
 by the rest, came to the Chancellor to redeliver it to
 his Hands. They acknowledged "the King had been
 "very gracious to them in his Concessions; though
 "He had not granted all that some of their Brethren
 "wished, yet They were contented:" Only desired
 him, "that He would prevail with the King, that
 "the Clause mentioned before might be left out;
 "which" They protested "was moved by them
 "for the King's own End, and that They might shew
 "their Obedience to him, and Resolution to do him
 "Service. For They were resolved themselves to do
 "what the King wished, and first to reconcile the
 "People, who for near twenty Years had not been
 "acquainted with that Form, by informing them
 "that it contained much Piety and Devotion, and
 "might be lawfully used; and then that They would
 "begin to use it themselves, and by Degrees accustom
 "the People to it: Which" they said "would have a
 "better Effect, than if the Clause were in the Decla-
 "ration; for They should be thought in their Per-
 "suasions to comply only with the King's Recom-
 "mendation, and to merit from his Majesty, and not
 "to be moved from the Conscience of the Duty; and
 "so

“so they should take that Occasion to manifest their
 “Zeal to please the King. And They feared there
 “would be other ill Consequences from it, by the
 “Waywardness of the common People, who were to
 “be treated with Skill, and would not be prevailed
 “upon all at once.” The King was to be present the
 next Morning, to hear the Declaration read the last
 Time before Both Parties; and then the Chancellor
 told him, in the Presence of all the rest, what the
 Ministers had desired; which They again enlarged
 upon with the same Protestations of their Resolutions,
 in such a Manner, that his Majesty believed They
 meant honestly; and the Clause was left out. But
 the Declaration was no sooner published, than ob-
 serving that the People were generally satisfied with
 it, They sent their Emissaries abroad: And many of
 their Letters were intercepted, and particularly a Let-
 ter from Mr. Calamy to a leading Minister in *Somerset-*⁽⁷⁶⁾
shire, whereby He advised and entreated him, “that
 “He and his Friends would continue and persist in
 “the Use of *The Directory*, and by no Means admit
 “*The Common Prayer* in their Churches; for that He
 “made no Question but that They should prevail
 “farther with the King, than He had yet consented
 “to in his Declaration.”

THE other Instance was, that as soon as the De-
 claration was printed, the King received a Petition in
 the Name of the Ministers of *London* and many others
 of the same Opinion with them, who had subscribed
 that Petition; amongst whom none of those who had
 attended the King in those Conferences had their
 Names. They gave his Majesty humble Thanks
 “for the Grace He had vouchsafed to shew in his De-
 “claration, which They received as an Earnest of his
 “future Goodness and Condescension in granting all
 “those other Concessions, which were absolutely ne-
 “cessary for the Liberty of their Conscience;” and
 desired with much Importunity and ill Manners,
 “that the wearing the Surplice, and the using the
 “Cross

"Cross in Baptism, might be absolutely abolished out of the Church, as being scandalous to all Men of tender Consciences." From those two Instances all Men may conclude, that Nothing but a severe Execution of the Law can ever prevail upon that *Classis* of Men to conform to Government.

WHEN the Parliament came together again after their Adjournment, They gave the King publick Thanks for his Declaration, and never proceeded farther in the Matter of Religion, of which the King was very glad: Only some of the Leaders brought a Bill into the House "for the making that Declaration a Law," which was suitable to their other Acts of Ingenuity, to keep the Church for ever under the same Indulgence and without any Settlement; which being quickly perceived, there was no farther Progress in it. And the King upon the nine and twentieth of *December*, after having given them an ample Testimony of their Kindness towards him, which He magnified with many gracious Expressions, and his Royal Thanks for the settling his Revenue and Payment of the publick Debts, promised "to send out Writs for the calling another Parliament, which He doubted not would confirm all that They had done, and in which He hoped many of them would be elected again to serve:" And so dissolved the present Parliament with as general an Applause as hath been known; though it was quickly known, that the Revenue They had settled was not in Value equal to what They had computed. Nor did the Monies They granted in any Degree arise to enough to pay either the Arrears to the Army, or the Debts to the Navy; Both which must be the Work of the ensuing Parliament, which was directed to meet upon the eighth of *May* following: Before which Time, the King made Choice of worthy and learned Men to supply the vacant Sees of Bishops, which had been void so many Years, and who were consecrated accordingly before the Parliament met. And before

We

The Parliament meets again, and is dissolved.

A new Parliament summoned to meet.

The Continuation of the Life of

We come to that Time, some particular Occurrences of Moment must be first inserted.

WHEN the King arrived in *England*, *Monsieur Bordeaux* was there Ambassadour from the King of *France*, and had resided Ambassadour there about three Years in *Cromwell's* Time, and lived in marvellous Lustre, very acceptable and dear to *Cromwell*, having treated all the secret Alliance between the Cardinal and him; and was even trusted by the Protector in many of his Counsels, especially to discover any Conspiracy against him; for He lived jovially, made great Entertainments to Lords and Ladies without Distinction, and amongst them would frequently let fall some Expressions of Compassion and Respect towards the King.⁶ After *Cromwell's* Death his Credentials were quickly renewed to *Richard* his Successor, with whom all the former Treaties were again established. And when He was put down, He was not long without fresh Credit to the Commonwealth that succeeded: And so upon all Vicissitudes was supplied with Authority to endear his Master's Affection to the present Powers, and to let them know, "how well the Cardinal was disposed to join the Power of *France* to their Interest." And his Dexterity had been such towards all, that the Cardinal thought fit to send him new Credentials against the Time of the King's Coming to *London*. And within few Days after, when He had provided a new Equipage to appear in more Glory than He had ever yet done, He sent to desire an Audience from the King.

THE Earl of *St. Albans* was newly come from *France*; and to him *Bordeaux* had applied himself, who was always very ready to promote any Thing that might be grateful to that Crown. But the King would not resolve any Thing in the Point, till He had conferred upon it with the Council: Where it being debated, there was an unanimous Consent (the Earl of *St. Albans* only excepted, who exceedingly laboured the contrary,) "that it could not stand with his Majesty's

"*jeſty's* Honour to receive him as Ambaſſadour, who had tranſacted ſo many Things to his Diſadvantage, and ſhifted his Face ſo often, always in Conjunction with his greateſt Enemies; and that it was a great Diſreſpect in the Crown of *France* towards his Ma-
jeſty in ſending ſuch a Perſon, who They could not believe (without great undervaluing the King) could be acceptable to him." The King himſelf was of that Opinion; and inſtead of aſſigning him a Day for his Audience, as was deſired, He ſent him an expreſs Command to depart the Kingdom. And when He afterwards, with much Importunity, deſired only to be admitted as a Stranger to ſee his Maſteſty, and to ſpeak to him; his Maſteſty as poſitively reſuſed to admit him to his Preſence. All which was imputed principally to the Chancellor, who had with ſome Warmth oppoſed his being received as Ambaſſadour; and when He ſent by a Perſon well enough eſteemed by the Chancellor, "that He would receive a Viſit from him," He expreſſly reſuſed to ſee him. Whoever gave the Advice, the King had great Honour by it in *France* itſelf, which declared no Kind of Reſentment of it, and gave poor *Bordeaux* ſuch a Reception, after having ſerved them five Years with notable Succeſs, and ſpent his whole Eſtate in the Service, that in a ſhort Time He died heart-broken in Miſery and un-
inquired after. And forthwith that King ſent the Count of *Saiſſons*, the moſt illuſtrious Perſon in *France*, very nobly accompanied and bravely attended, as his Ambaſſadour, to congratulate his Maſteſty's happy Reſtoration, with all the Compliments of Friendſhip and Eſteem that can be imagined.

THERE was another Ambaſſadour at the ſame Time in *London*, who might be thought to ſtand in the ſame Predicament with *Bordeaux*, though in Truth their Caſes were very different, and who received a very different Treatment. That was the Ambaſſadour of *Portugal*, who had been ſent by that Crown to finiſh a Treaty that had been begun by another Ambaſſadour

with *Cromwell*; who had been so ill used, that They had put his Brother publickly to Death for a rash Action in which a Gentleman had been killed; upon which He had got Leave from his Master to quit the Kingdom. And this other Ambassadour had been sent in his Room; and was forced to consent and submit to very hard Conditions, as a Ransom for that King's Generosity in assisting the King in his lowest Condition, by receiving Prince *Rupert* with his Majesty's Fleet in *Lisbon*, and so preserving them from a Fleet much superiour in Number and Goodness of the Ships, that pursued him by Commission from *Cromwell*: Who took that Action so to Heart, that He made War upon that Kingdom, took their Ships, obstructed their Trade, and blocked up all their Ports; whilst the *Spanish* Army invaded them at Land, and took their Towns in the very Heart of the Kingdom. And to redeem that poor King from that terrible Persecution, that Treaty had been submitted to; in which, besides the yearly Payment of a great Sum of Money from *Portugal*, which was to continue for many Years; other great Advantages in Trade had been granted to *England*. The King made no Scruple of receiving this Ambassadour with a very good Countenance; and as soon as He got his Credentials, gave him a publick Audience, with all the Formality and Ceremony that in those Cases are usual and necessary.

*An Account of
the Treaty of
Marriage
with Portu-
gal.*

AND because in some Time after a Negotiation was set on Foot of the highest Importance, and had its Effect in the King's Marriage with the Queen; and because, how acceptable soever both that Treaty and Conclusion of it was then to the whole Kingdom, that Affair was afterwards imputed to the Chancellor, and in the Opinion of many proved to be the Cause and Ground of all his Misfortunes: I shall here set down all the Particulars that introduced and attended that Negotiation and Treaty, with all the Circumstances, some whereof may appear too light, and yet are not without Weight, to make it appear to all the World,
how

how far the Chancellor was from being the Author of that Counsel (and if He had been, there was no Reason to be ashamed of it) and that He did Nothing before, in, or after that Treaty, but what was necessary for a Man in his Condition, and what very well became a Person of that Trust and Confidence He was in with his Master.

It hath been remembered before, that upon the Publication of the Duke's Marriage, and the Reconciliation upon that Affair, the Chancellor was very solicitous that the King himself would marry; that He desired the Marquis of *Ormond* very earnestly to advise him to it: And himself often put his Majesty in Mind of what He had said to him in *France*, when the Duke was persuaded to treat about a Marriage with *Mademoiselle de Longueville*, "that his Majesty was by no Means to consent, that his Heir Apparent should marry before himself were married;" for which He had given some Reasons, for which at that Time He underwent great Displeasures. And this Discourse He had held often with the King: And sure no Man in *England* more impatiently desired to see him married than He did. Indeed it was no easy Matter to find a Person in all Respects so fit, that a Man would take upon him to propose in particular; nor did He think himself in many Respects, and with Reference to the Accidents which might probably or possibly fall out, fit, if He could have thought of One, to be the Author of the Proposition.

ONE Day the King came to the Chancellor's House in the Afternoon; and being alone with him, his Majesty told him, "that He was come to confer with him upon an Argument that He would well like, which was about his own Marriage." He said, "the Lord Chamberlain" (who was then Earl of *Manchester*) "had held a Discourse with him some Days past, that seemed to have somewhat in it that was worth the thinking of. That He had told him, *the Portugal Ambassadour had made him a Visit, and*

The Portuguese Ambassadour proposes the Marriage.

The Continuation of the Life of

"having some Conference with him concerning the King,
 "towards whose Person He professed a profound Respect,
 "He said it was Time for his Majesty to think of Mar-
 "riage; which Nothing could keep him from, but the
 "Difficulty of finding a fit Consort for him. That there⁽⁷⁹⁾
 "was in Portugal a Princess in her Beauty, Person and
 "Age, very fit for him, and who would have a Portion
 "suitable to her Birth and Quality. That it is true She
 "was a Catholick, and would never depart from her
 "Religion; but was totally without that Modding and
 "Affectivity in her Nature, which many Times made those
 "of that Religion troublesome and restless, when They came
 "into a Country where another Religion was practised.
 "That She had been bred under a wise Mother, who
 "was still Regent in that Kingdom, who had carefully
 "infused another Spirit into her, and kept her from affec-
 "ting to have any Hand in Business, and which She had
 "never been acquainted with; so that She would look only
 "to enjoy her own Religion, and not at all concern her-
 "self in what others professed. That He had Authority to
 "make the Proposition to the King, with such Particula-
 "rities as included many Advantages above any, He thought,
 "which could accompany any Overture of that Kind from
 "another Prince. To which the Chamberlain had add-
 "ed, that there could be no Question, but that a Pro-
 "testant Queen would in all Respects be looked upon as
 "the greatest Blessing to the Kingdom: But if such a one
 "could not be found, He did really believe, that a Prin-
 "cess of this Temper and Spirit would be the best of all
 "Catholicks. That the Trade of Portugal was great
 "here, and that England had a more beneficial Commerce
 "with that Crown than with any other: Which had in-
 "duced Cromwell to make that Peace, when He had
 "upon the Matter forsworn it; and the making it had
 "been the most popular Action He had ever performed."

His Majesty said, "that He had only answered
 "the Chamberlain, that He would think of it. But
 "that the very Morning of this Day, the Ambassa-
 "dour of Portugal had been with him, and without
 "any

"any Formality had entered into the same Discourse,
 "and said all that the Lord Chamberlain had men-
 "tioned : To which He added, *that He had Authority*
 "*to offer to his Majesty five hundred thousand Pounds*
 "*Sterling in ready Money, as a Portion with the In-*
 "*fanta ; and likewise to assign over, and for ever to an-*
 "*nex to the Crown of England, the Possession of Tan-*
 "*gier upon the African Shore in the Mediterranean Sea,*
 "*a Place of that Strength and Importance, as would be*
 "*of infinite Benefit and Security to the Trade of England ;*
 "*and likewise to grant to the English Nation a free Trade*
 "*in Brasil and in the East-Indies, which They had hither-*
 "*to denied to all Nations but themselves. And for their*
 "*Security to enjoy that Privilege, They would put into*
 "*his Majesty's Hands and Possession, and for ever annex*
 "*to the Crown of England, the Island of Bombayne*
 "*(with the Towns and Castles therein, which are within*
 "*a very little Distance from Bombayne) ; which bath*
 "*within itself a very good and spacious Harbour, and*
 "*would be a vast Improvement to the East-India Trade.*
 "*And those two Places, He said, of Tangier and Bom-*
 "*bayne, might reasonably be valued above the Portion in*
 "*Money."* The King mentioned all the Discourse as The King ap-
proves the
Proposal.
 a Matter that pleased him, and might prove of nota-
 ble Advantage to the Kingdom ; and said "that He
 "had wished the Ambassadour to confer with him
 "(the Chancellor) upon it ;" and then asked him
 "what He thought of it : " To which He answered,
 "that He had not heard of it enough to think of it"
 (for He had never heard or thought of it before that
 Moment) ; "and therefore He should not be able to
 "do more when the Ambassadour came to him, than
 "to hear what He said, and report it to his Majesty."
 For the present He only asked, "whether his Ma-
 "jesty had given over all Thoughts of a *Protestant*
 "Wife : " To which He answered, "He could find
 "none such, except amongst his own Subjects ; and
 "amongst them He had seen none that pleased him
 "enough to that End." And observing the Chan-

cellor to look fixedly upon him, He said, "that He would never think more of the Princess of *Orange's* Daughter, her Mother having used him so ill when He proposed it; and if He should now think of it, He knew his Mother would never consent to it, and that it would break his Sister's Heart: Therefore He had resolved never to entertain that Thought again. And that He saw no Objection against this Overture from *Portugal*, that would not occur in any other, where the Advantages would not be so many or so great."

WHAT could the Chancellor say? What Objection could He make, why this Overture should not be hearkened to? And what would the King have thought, or what might He not have thought, if He had advised him to reject this Motion? He gave him no other Answer for the present, than "that He desired Nothing more in this World, than to see his Majesty well married; and He was very confident that all his good Subjects were of the same Mind: And therefore there must be some very visible Inconvenience in it, when He should dissuade him not to embrace such an Opportunity. That He would be ready to confer with the *Portugal* Ambassadour when He came, and then He should entertain his Majesty farther upon that Subject." The Ambassadour came to him, repeated what He said and proposed to the King, with little other Enlargement, than concerning the Benefit *England* would receive by the two Places of *Tangier* and *Bombayne*, and the Description of their Situation and Strength; of all which the Chancellor gave his Majesty a faithful Account, without presuming to mingle with it a Word of his own Advice. The King appeared abundantly pleased, and willing to proceed farther; and asked "what was next to be done:" To which He answered, "that it was a Matter of too great Importance for him to deliver any Opinion upon; indeed too great for his Majesty himself to resolve, upon the private Advice of any one"

“one Man, how agreeable soever it should be to his own Inclination and Judgment.” And therefore He desired him “that He would call to him four or five Persons, whom He thought to be the most competent Considerers of such an Affair, and consult it very maturely with them, before He entertained any more Conference with the Ambassadour. For whatsoever He should resolve upon it, it ought yet to be kept in all possible Secrecy: If it should be thought fit to be rejected, it ought to be without the least Noise, and the least Reflection upon the Overture, which had been made with all the possible Demonstration of Esteem: If it should appear worthy of Entertainment and Acceptation, it would still require the same Secrecy; till the Value and Consequence of all the Particulars proposed by the Ambassadour might be fully examined and weighed, and a more particular and substantial Assurance given for the Accomplishment, than the bare Word of the Ambassadour.”

THE King appointed that the Lord Treasurer, the Marquis of *Ormond*, the Lord Chamberlain, and Secretary *Nicholas*, should be together at the Chancellor's House, where his Majesty would likewise be and propose the Business to them. And accordingly He did relate to them the whole Series of what had passed, and required them “with all possible Freedom to deliver their Opinions, and to consider whether there was any other Princess or Lady in their View, with whom he might marry more advantageously.” He added, “that He had spoken both with the Earl of *Sandwich* and Sir *John Lawson* occasionally and merely as loose Discourse, *what Place Tangier was*, which He pointed to in the Map, and *whether it was well known to them*; and They Both said *They knew it well from Sea*. But that Sir *John Lawson* had been in it, and said, *it was a Place of that Importance, that if it were in the Hands of the Hollanders, They wou'd quickly make a Mole, which They might easily do; that now Ships*

He appoints a Committee to enter into a Treaty with the Ambassadour.

“could not ride there in such a Wind,” which his Majesty named; but if there were a Mole, they would ride securely in all Weather; and They would keep the Place against all the World, and give the Law to all the Trade of the Mediterranean:” With which Discourse his Majesty seemed very much affected. After many Questions and much Debate, and some of the Lords wishing that it were possible to get a Queen that was a Protestant, and One of them naming the Daughter of Harry Prince of Orange, of whom They had heard some Mention when his Majesty was beyond the Seas, and of whose elder Sister (then married to the Elector of *Brandenburgh*) there had been some Discourse in the Life of the late King; (but his Majesty quickly declared, “that He had very unanswerable Reasons why He could not entertain that Alliance”): All the Lords unanimously agreed, “that there was no Catholick Princess in *Europe*, whom his Majesty could with so much Reason and Advantage marry, as the *Infanta of Portugal*. That the Portion proposed in Money, setting aside the Places, was much greater, almost double to what any King had ever received in Money by any Marriage. And the Places seemed to be situated very usefully for Trade, the Increase whereof his Majesty was to endeavour with all possible Solitude; which could only make this Nation flourish, and recover the Interest They had lost, especially in the *Indies* and in the *Mediterranean*, by the late Troubles and Distractions, and the Advantage the *Dutch* had thereby gotten over the *English* in those Trades, as well as in other.” The King approved all that had been said, and thereupon appointed all those Lords with the same Secrecy to enter into a Treaty with the Ambassador, which was begun between them accordingly.

THE Treaty neither was nor could be a Secret; nor was there any Thing more generally desired, than that a Treaty of Alliance and Commerce should be made with *Portugal*, that the Trade might continue with

with Security: And it was very grateful to every Body to know, that there was a Committee appointed to that Purpose. But the Proposition towards a Marriage was still a Secret, not communicated to any, nor so much as suspected by the *Spanish* Ambassadour, who did all He could to obstruct the very Treaty of Alliance, of whose Proceedings there will be Occasion to make Mention anon by itself. The Ambassadour offered "to renew the Treaty (if that of the Marriage was consented to) *in Terminis*, that had been made with *Cromwell*, without being so much as exempted from that yearly Payment, which had been imposed upon them for assisting Prince *Rupert*," and had been assigned to the Merchants to satisfy the Damages They had sustained by Prince *Rupert*; and the Release whereof must have obliged the King to pay it himself: And therefore that Offer was looked upon as a generous Thing. And the whole Treaty, which They had not yet perused, was generally looked upon and believed to be the most advantageous to *England*, that had been ever entered into with any Crown.

It had been foreseen from the first Motion towards this Marriage; that it would be a very hard Matter with such Alliance, to avoid such a Conjunction with *Portugal* as would produce a War with *Spain*; which the King had no Mind to be engaged in. For besides that He had received some Civilities from that King, after a Word of Disobligations, his Resident at *Madrid*, Sir *Harry Bennet*, had consented in his Majesty's Name, that the old Treaty which had been made between the two Crowns in the Year 1630, should be again observed; of which more anon. But his Majesty's firm Resolution at that Time was, wholly to intend the composing or subduing the Distempers and ill Humours in his three Kingdoms and all his other Dominions; and till that should be fully done, He would have no Difference with any of his Neighbours, nor be engaged in a War which He could avoid: A Resolution very prudently made; and if it had been adhered

hered to, much Evil which succeeded the Departure from it might have been prevented.

BUT the Lords found, upon Perusal of the Treaty, one Article (which was indeed the only Article that made any Show of Benefit and Advantage to *Portugal*) by which *Cromwell* was obliged to assist *Portugal* when They should require it, with six thousand Foot, to be levied in *England* at their Charge. And now the Ambassadour urged, "that in Consideration of the Marriage, the Portion, the Delivery of those Places, and his Majesty's own Interest by that Marriage in *Portugal*, which upon the Death of the King and his Brother must devolve to his Majesty; He would take upon him the Protection of that Kingdom, and denounce War with *Spain*:" To which his Majesty warmly and positively answered, "that He would admit no such Engagement; that He was not in a Condition to make a War till He could not avoid it. He would do what was lawful for him to do; He could choose a Wife for himself, and He could help a Brother and Ally with a Levy of Men at their Charge, without entering into a War with any other Prince. And if *Spain* should, either upon his Marriage or such Supply, declare a War against him, He would defend himself as well as He could, and do as much Damage as He could to *Spain*; and then that He would apply such Assistance to *Portugal*, as should be most advantageous to it: And that He should not be willing to see it reduced under the Obedience of *Spain* for many Reasons. That in the mean Time He would assist them with the same Number as *Cromwell* had promised, and transport them at his own Charge thither; provided that as soon as They were landed, They should be received in the King of *Portugal*'s Pay:" Which Offer the King made upon a Reason not then communicated, and which will be mentioned hereafter; besides that He had such a Body of Men ready for such a Service, and which could with much more Security and little
more

more Charge be transported to *Portugal*, than be disbanded in the Place where They were.

WHEN the Ambassadour found that the King would not be persuaded to enter directly into a War with *Spain*, though He offered "to put *Barcelona* into "his Hands, of which *Don Joseph Margarita*" (a Person who had conducted the Revolt of that City, and all the Rebellion which had been lately in *Catalonia*) "then in *Paris* should come over and give unquestionable Assurance," (all which, with many other Propositions of the same Nature, his Majesty totally rejected); He concluded, that the Alliance and Marriage would give a present Reputation to *Portugal*, and make Impression upon the Spirits of *Spain*, and that a War would hereafter fall out unavoidably: And so accepted what the King had offered. And then there remained Nothing to be done, but to give un-
The Treaty of Commerce with Portugal settled.
questionable Security to the King, for the Performance of all the Particulars which had been promised; and for which there appeared yet no other Warrant, than Letters and Instructions to the Ambassadour from the Queen Regent. And for farther Satisfaction therein, the Ambassadour offered "presently to pass "into *Portugal*, and doubted not, in as short a Time "as could be expected, to return with such Power and "Authority, and such a full Concession of what had
33) "been proposed, as should be very satisfactory:" Which his Majesty well liked; and writ himself to the Queen Regent and to the King such Letters, as signified "his full Resolution for the Marriage, if all "the Particulars promised by the Ambassadour in "Writing should be made good;" and writ likewise a Letter with his own Hand to the *Infanta*, as to a Lady whom He looked upon as his Wife; and assigned two Ships to attend the Ambassadour, who immediately, and with some Appearance or Pre-
The Ambassadour goes into Portugal for farther Powers.
tence of Discontent or Dissatisfaction (that the Secret might be the less discovered), embarked with all his Family for the River of *Lisbon*. And to this Time

the

the Chancellor had never mentioned any particular Advice of his own to the King, more than his Concurrence with the rest of the Lords: nor in Truth had any of them shewed more Inclination towards it, than the King himself had done, who seemed marvellously pleased, and had spoken much more in private with the Ambassadour upon it, than any of the Lords had done, and of some Particulars which They were never acquainted with.

*An Account
of the Earl of
Bristol's Be-
haviour
abroad.*

THAT I may not break off the Thread of this Discourse till I bring it to a Conclusion, nor leave out any important Particular that related to that Subject; I shall in this Place make Mention of a little Cloud or Eclipse, raised by the Activity and Restlessness of the Earl of *Bristol*, that seemed to interpose and darken the Splendour of this Treaty, and to threaten the Life thereof, by extinguishing it in the Bud: Upon which Occasion the Chancellor thought himself obliged to appear more for it, than He had hitherto done; and which afterwards (how unjustly soever) was turned to his Reproach. This Earl (who throughout the whole Course of his Life frequently administered Variety of Discourse, that could not be applied to any other Man) upon the Defeat of *Sir George Booth*, when all the King's Hopes in *England* seemed desperate, had not the Patience to expect another Change that presently succeeded; but presently changed his Religion, and declared himself a *Roman Catholic*, that He might with undoubted Success apply himself to the Service of *Spain*, to which the present good Acceptation He had with *Don Juan* was the greater Encouragement. He gave Account by a particular Letter to the Pope of this his Conversion, which was delivered by the General of the *Jesuits*; in Return of which He received a customary Brief from his Sanctity, with the old Piece of Scripture never left out in those Occasions, *Tu conversus converte Fratres tuos.*

THE Noise and Scandal of this Defection and Apostasy in a sworn Counsellor of the King and one
of

of his Secretaries of State, made it necessary for the King to remove him from both those Trusts, which He had made himself incapable to execute by the Laws of *England*, and which He proposed to himself to enjoy with the more Advantage by his Change; and believed that the King, who seemed to have no other Hopes towards his Restoration than in Catholick Princes, would not think this a Season in ordinary Policy to disgrace a Servant of his Eminency and Relation, for no other Reason than his becoming *Catholick*, by which He should have so many Opportunities to serve his Master. And this He had the Confidence to urge to the King, before He was obliged to deliver the Signet, and to forbear the being present any more in Council. And this Displacing and Remove He imputed entirely to his old Friend the Chancellor (with whom till that Minute He had for many Years held a very firm Friendship), and the more, because He received from his Majesty the same Countenance He had before, without any Reprehension for what He had done; the King not being at all surpris'd with his Declaration, because He had long known that He was very indifferent in all Matters of Religion, and looked upon the outward Profession of any, as depending wholly upon the Convenience or Discommodity that might be enjoyed by it. And with such Discourses He had too much entertained the King, who never would speak seriously with him upon that Subject. And truly his own Relation of the Manner of his Conversion, with all the Circumstances, and the Discourse of an Ignorant old *Jesuit* whom He perfectly contemned, and of a simple good Woman, the Abbess of a Convent, which contributed to it, was so ridiculous, and administered such Occasion of Mirth, that his Majesty thought Laughing at him to be the best Reproof. And the Earl bore that so well and gratefully from the King, and from his other familiar Friends too (for He dissembled his taking any Thing ill of the Chancellor), and contributed so much himself to the

the Mirth, that He was never better Company than upon that Argument: And any Man would have believed, that He had not a worse Opinion of the Religion He had forsaken, or of any other, by his becoming *Roman Catholick*.

WHEN the King made his Journey to *Fuenterabia* to the Treaty between the two Crowns, the Earl of *Bristol's* irresistible Importunity prevailed with him to permit him to go likewise, though his Majesty had received Advertisement from Sir *Harry Bennet*, that *Don Lewis de Haro* desired that He might not come with his Majesty thither. The least Part of the Mischief He did in that Journey was, that He prevailed with the King to make so many Diversions and Delays in it, that the Treaty was concluded before He came thither, and He was very near being disappointed of all the Fruit He had proposed to himself to receive from it. However it was finished so much the better, that He left the Earl behind him, who in the short Time of his Stay there, had so far insinuated himself into the Grace and good Opinion of *Don Lewis de Haro*, who came with all the Prejudice and Detestation imaginable towards him, (as He had to his extraordinary Parts a marvellous Faculty of getting himself believed); that He was well content that He should go with him to *Madrid*, where the King upon the Memory of his Father (who had deserved well from that Crown, or rather had suffered much for not having deserved ill) received him graciously. And there He resided in the Resident's House, who had been his Servant, in such a Repose as was agreeable to his Fancy, that He might project his own Fortune; which was the only Thing his Heart was set upon, and of which He despaired in his own Country.

THE News of the King's miraculous Restoration quickly arrived at *Madrid*, and put an End to the Earl's farther Designs, believing He could not do better abroad than He might do in his own Country; and so He undertook his Journey through *France*, laden

den with many Obligations from that Court, and arrived at *London* about the Time that the Ambassadour was embarked for *Portugal*. The King of *Spain* had, soon after the King's Arrival in *England*, sent the Prince of *Lygnes* with a very splendid Ambassage to congratulate with his Majesty, about the Time that the Count of *Soissons* came from *France* on the same Errand. And after his Return, the Baron of *Batteville* was sent from *Spain* as Ordinary Ambassadour, a Man born in *Burgundy* in the *Spanish* Quarters, and bred a Soldier; in which Profession He was an Officer of Note, and at that Time was Governour of *St. Sebastian's* and of that Province. He seemed a rough Man, and to have more of the Camp, but in Truth knew the Intrigues of a Court better than most *Spaniards*; and except when his Passion surpris'd him, was wary and cunning in his Negotiation. He lived with less Reservation and more Jollity than the Ministers of that Crown used to do; and drew such of the Court to his Table and Conversation, who He observed were loud Talkers, and confident enough in the King's Presence.

*An Account of
the Spanish
Ambassadour.*

IN the first private Audience He had, He delivered a Memorial to his Majesty; in which He required "the Delivery of the Island of *Jamaica* to his Master, "it having been taken by his rebel Subjects contrary "to the Treaty of Peace between the two Crowns; "and likewise that his Majesty would cause *Dunkirk* "and *Mardike* to be restored to his *Catbolick* Majesty, "they having not only been taken contrary to that "Treaty, but when his Majesty was entertained in "that King's Dominions with all Courtesy and Respect." And He likewise required in the King his Master's Name, "that the King would not give any "Assistance, nor enter into any Treaty of Alliance "with *Portugal*." For that the same, as the rest, was "directly contrary to the last Treaty, which was now "again revived and stood in Force by the Declaration "of his Majesty's Resident at *Madrid*;" which was the first

first Notice any of his Majesty's Ministers had of any such Declaration. But when He had delivered those Memorials to the King, He never called for an Answer, nor willingly entered upon the Discourse of either of the Subjects; but put it off merely as a Thing He was to do of Form once, that his Master's just Title might be remembered, but not to be pressed till a fitter Conjuncture. For He easily discovered what Answer He should receive: And so took the Advantage of the License of the Court, where no Rules or Formalities were yet established (and to which the King himself was not enough inclined), but all Doors open to all Persons. Which the Ambassadour finding, He made himself a Domestick, came to the King at all Hours, and spake to him when and as long as He would, without any Ceremony, or desiring an Audience according to the old Custom; but came into the Bedchamber whilst the King was dressing himself, and mingled in all Discourses with the same Freedom He would use in his own. And from this never heard of License, introduced by the *French* and the *Spaniard* at this Time without any Dislike in the King, though not permitted in any other Court in *Chriftendom*, many Inconveniences and Mischiefs broke in, which could never after be shut out.

As soon as the Earl of *Bristol* came to the Court, He was very willing to be looked upon as wholly devoted to the *Spanish* Interest; and so make a particular Friendship with the *Spanish* Ambassadour, with whom He had a former Acquaintance whilst the King had been at *Fuentarabia*, that He might give a Testimony of his Gratitude for the Favours He had received so lately at *Madrid*. The King received him with his accustomed good Countenance; and He had an excellent Talent in spreading that *Leaf of Gold* very thin, that it might look much more than it was: And took Pains by being always in his Presence, and often whispering in his Ear, and talking upon some Subjects with a Liberty not ingrateful, to have it believed that He

was

was more than ordinarily acceptable to his Majesty. And the King, not wary enough against those Invasions, did communicate more to him of the Treaty with *Portugal*, than He had done to any other Person, except those who were immediately trusted in it.

THE Earl had always promised himself (though He knew He could not be of the Council, nor in any Ministry of State, by Reason of his Religion) that He was in so good Esteem with his Majesty and with most of those who were trusted by him, that He should have a great Share in all foreign Affairs, and should be consulted with in all Matters of that Kind, in Regard of the long Experience He had in foreign Parts; which indeed amounted to no more, than a great Exactness in the Languages of those Parts. And therefore He was surprised with the Notice of this Affair, and presently expressed his Dislike of it, and told his Majesty "that He would be exceedingly deceived in it; that *Portugal* was poor, and not able to pay the Portion They had promised. That now it was forsaken by *France*, *Spain* would overrun and reduce it in one Year;" enlarging upon the great Preparations which were made for that Expedition, "of which *Don Lewis de Haro* himself would be General, and was sure of a great Party in *Portugal* itself, that was weary of that Government: So that that miserable Family had no Hope, but by transporting themselves and their poor Party in their Ships to *Brazil*, and their other large Territories in the *East-Indies*, which were possessed only by *Portugueses*, who might possibly be willing to be subject to them. And that this was so much in the View of all Men, that it was all the Care *Spain* had to prevent it." The King did not inform him, that He had concluded any Thing, and that the Ambassadour was gone for more ample Powers to satisfy his Majesty, that all that was promised should be performed.

THE Earl, who valued himself upon his great Faculty in obstructing and puzzling any Thing that was

The Earl of Bristol and the Spanish Ambassadour obstruct the Marriage.

agreed upon, and in contriving whereof He had no Hand, repaired to the *Spanish* Ambassadour, and informed him, under Obligation of Secrecy, of what Treaty the King was entered upon with *Portugal* by the Advice of the Chancellor; which He hoped "that They two should find some Means to break." But the Ambassadour's Breast was not large enough to contain that Secret. He talked of it in all Places with great Passion, and then took it up as from common Report, and spake to the King of it, and said, "the *Portugal* Ambassadour had in his Vanity bragged of it to some *Catholicks*, and promised them great Things upon it; none of which He was confident could be true, and that his Majesty could never be prevailed with to consent to such a Treaty, which would prove ruinous to himself and his Kingdom; for the King of *Spain* could not but resent it to such a Degree, as would bring great Inconvenience to his Affairs." And his Majesty forbearing to give him any Answer, at least not such a one as pleased him, his Rage transported him to undervalue the Person of the *Infanta*. He said, "She was deformed, and had many Diseases; and that it was very well known in *Portugal* and in *Spain*, that She was incapable to bear Children;" and many Particulars of that Nature.

WHEN He had said the same Things several Days to the King, the Earl of *Bristol* took his Turn again; and told the King other Things which the Ambassadour had communicated to him in Trust, and which He durst not presume to say to his Majesty, and which in Truth He had said himself, being concerning the Person of the *Infanta*, and her Incapacity to have Children; upon which He enlarged very pathetically, and said, "He would speak freely with the Chancellor of it, upon whom the ill Consequences of this Counsel would fall." He told him, "there were many beautiful Ladies in *Italy*, of the greatest Houses; and that his Majesty might take his Choice of them, and the King of *Spain* would give a Portion with
" her,

"her, as if She were a Daughter of *Spain*; and the "King should marry her as such." And the Ambassadour shortly after proposed the same Thing, and enlarged much upon it. And both the Earl and the Ambassadour conferred with the Chancellor (concealing the Propositions They had made concerning the *Italian Ladies*) "as of a Matter the Town talked of and exceedingly disliked, the more because it was generally known, that that Princess could not have any Children." The King himself had informed the Chancellor of all that passed from the Ambassadour, and of his Rudeness towards the *Infanta*, and his declaring that She could have no Children; and told him, "that the Earl of *Bristol* resolved to confer with him, and doubted not to convert him;" without seeming himself to have been moved with any Thing that the Ambassadour or the Earl had said to him: So that when They Both came afterwards to him, not together but severally, and He perceived that his Majesty had not to either of them imparted how far He had proceeded (but had heard them talk as of somewhat They had taken up from publick Rumour, and had himself dis-couraged of it as sprung from such a Fountain), the Chancellor did not take himself to be at Liberty to enter into a serious Debate of the Matter with them; but permitted them to enjoy the Pleasure of their own Opinion, and to believe that either there had been no Inclination to such a Treaty, or that the Weight of their Reasons would quickly enervate it.

WHETHER the King grew less inclined to marry, and liked the Liberty He enjoyed too well to be willing to be restrained; or whether what had been said to him of the *Infanta's* Person and her Unaptness for Children, had made some Impression in him; or whether the Earl of *Bristol's* describing the Persons of the *Italian Ladies*, and magnifying their Conversations (in which Arguments He had naturally a very luxurious Style, unlimited by any Rules of Truth or Modesty); it is not to be denied, that his Majesty appeared much colder,

The King appears much colder towards the Treaty.

and less delighted to speak of *Portugal*, than He had been, and would sometimes wish "that the Ambassadour had not gone, and that He would quickly return without Commission to give his Majesty Satisfaction." He seemed to reflect upon a War with *Spain*, "which," He said, "could not possibly be avoided in that Alliance," with more Apprehension than He had formerly done, when that Contingency had been debated. All which Discourses troubled the Lords who had been trusted, very much, not conceiving that the Ambassadour's frantick Discourse could have any Weight in it, or that the Earl of *Bristol* (whose Levity and Vanity was enough known to the King) could make that Impression in him. However it appeared, that the Earl was much more in private with him than He had used to be, many Hours shut up together; and when the King came from him, that He seemed to be perplexed and full of Thoughts.

ONE Morning the Earl came to the Chancellor, and after some Compliments and many Protections of his inviolable Friendship, He told him, "He was come to take his Leave of him for some Months, being to begin a long Journey as soon as He should part with him; for He had already kissed the King's Hand: And his Friendship would not permit him to be reserved towards him, and to keep a Secret of that vast Importance from his Knowledge." He said, "that the King had heard such unanswerable Reasons against this Marriage with *Portugal*, that He was firmly resolved never more to entertain a Thought of it; That the *Spanish* Ambassadour had recommended two Princesses to him, whereof He might take his Choice, of incomparable Beauty and all excellent Parts of Mind, who should be betrothed as a Daughter of *Spain* by that King, to whom They were allied;" and so named the Ladies. He said, "this Discourse had prevailed very far upon the King, as a Thing that could raise no Jealousies in *France*, with whom He desired so to live, that He
" might

"might be sure to have Peace in his own Dominions.
 "There was only one Thing in which He desired to
 "be better satisfied, which was the Persons, Beauties
 "and good Humours of the Princesses; and that He
 "had so good an Opinion of his Judgment, that He
 "was confident if He saw them, He would easily
 (M) "know whether either of them were like to please his
 "Majesty; and would so far trust him, that if He
 "did believe, knowing his Majesty so well as He did,
 "that one of them would be grateful, He should carry
 "Power with him to propound and conclude a Treaty;
 "which," He said, "He carried with him, and like-
 "wise other Letters, upon which He should first find
 "such Access and Admission, as would enable him to
 "judge of their Nature and Humour as well as of
 "their Beauty." He seemed much transported with
 the great Trust reposed in him, and with the Assu-
 rance that He should make the King and Kingdom
 happy. And He said, "one Reason, besides his
 "Friendship, that had made him impart this great
 "Secret, was a Presumption, that now He knew how
 "far his Majesty was disposed and in Truth engaged
 "in this Particular, He would not do any Thing to
 "cross or interrupt the Design." The Chancellor,
 enough amazed, by some Questions found He was
 utterly uninformed, how far the King stood engaged
 in *Portugal*; and knowing the incredible Power the
 Earl had over himself, to make him believe any
 Thing He had a Mind should be true, He used little
 more Discourse with him than "to wish him a good
 "Journey."

UPON the first Opportunity He told the King all
 that the Earl had said to him; with which his Ma-
 jesty seemed not pleased, as expecting that the Secret
 should have been kept better. He did not dissemble
 his not wishing that the Treaty with *Portugal* might
 succeed; and confessed, "that He had sent the Earl
 "of *Bristol* to see some Ladies in *Italy*, who were high-
 "by extolled by the *Spanish* Ambassadour," but denied

that He had given him such Powers as He bragged of. The Chancellor thereupon asked him, "whether He well remembered his Engagement, which He had voluntarily made; and without any Body's Persuasion, to the King and Queen Regent;" and desired him "to impart his new Resolution to the Lords who were formerly trusted by him. That probably He might find good Reason and just Arguments to break off the Treaty with *Portugal*; which ought to be first done, before He embarked himself in another: Otherwise that He would so far expose his Honour to Reproach, that all Princes would be afraid of entering into any Treaty with him." This was every Word of Persuasion, that He then or ever after used to him upon this Affair; nor did it at that Time seem to make any Impression in him. However He sent for the Lord Treasurer, and conferred at large with him and the Lord Marquis of *Ormond*. And finding them exceedingly surprised with what He had done, and that They gave the same and other stronger Arguments against it than the other had done, his Majesty seemed to recollect himself, and to think, that, whatever Resolution He should think fit to take in the End, He had not chosen the best Way and Method of proceeding towards it; and resolved to call the Earl back, "which," He said, "He could infallibly do by Sir *Kenelm Digby*, who knew how to send a Letter to him, before He had proceeded farther in his Journey; it having been before agreed, that He should make a Halt in such and such Places, to the End that He might be advertised of any new Occurrences." And his Majesty did write the same Night to him "to return, because it was necessary to have some more Conference with him." And the Letter was sent by Sir *Kenelm Digby*, and probably received by the Earl in Time. But He continued his Journey into *Italy*; and after his Return pretended not to have received that Letter, or any other Order to return, till it was too late, being at that Time entered upon

upon the Borders or Confines of *Italy*; in which He had not the good Fortune to be believed.

- (9) THE Ambassadour of *Portugal* dispatched his Voyage with more Expedition than could have been expected, and returned, as He believed, with at least as full Satisfaction to all Particulars as could be expected; but found his Reception with such a Coldness, that struck the poor Gentleman (who was naturally hypochondriack) to the Heart: nor could He be informed from whence this Distemper proceeded. And therefore He forbore to deliver his Letters, which He thought might more expose the Honour of his Master and Mistress to Contempt, and remained quietly in his House, without demanding a second Audience; until He could by some Way or other be informed what had fallen out since his Departure, that could raise those Clouds which appeared in every Man's Looks. He saw the *Spanish* Ambassadour exceedingly exalted with the Pride of having put an insolent Affront upon the Ambassadour from *France*, which cost his Master dear, and heard that He had bragged loudly of his having broken the Treaty of *Portugal*. And it is very true, that He did every Day somewhat either vainly or insolently, that gave the King Offence, or lessened the Opinion He had of his Discretion, and made him withdraw much of that Countenance from him, which He had formerly given him. This, and the Return of the *Portugal* Ambassadour with a new Title of *Marquis de Sande* (an Evidence according to the Custom of that Court, that He had well served his Master in his Employment), put him into new Fury; so that He came to the King with new Expostulations, and gave him a Memorial, in which He said "that He
 " had Order from his Master to let his Majesty know,
 " that if his Majesty should proceed towards a Marriage with the Daughter of the Duke of *Braganza*,
 " his Master's Rebel, He had Order to take his Leave
 " presently, and to declare War against him." The King returned some sharp Answer presently to him,
 and

The Portuguese Ambassadour returns, and is coldly received.

Time of the King's Restoration, which had deceived all his Calculations, and broken all his Measures. Upon his Death the Ministry was committed to three Persons (the King himself being still present at all their Consultations), *Monsieur De Tellier* and *Monsieur De Lionne*, the two Secretaries of State, and *Monsieur Fouquet*, *Surintendant* of the Finances and *Procureur General du Roy*, who was a Man of extraordinary Parts, and being not forty Years of Age, enjoyed his full Vigour of Body and Mind, and in Respect of his sole Power over the Finances was looked upon as the *Premier Ministre*. This Man, as soon as He was in the Business, sent an Express into *England* with a Letter to the Chancellor. The Messenger was *La Bastee*, who having been Secretary during the Time of his being in *England* to *Bordeaux* whilst He was Ambassador, spake *English* very well. He, as soon as He arrived, went to the Chancellor's House, and desired one of his Servants to let his Lord know, "that He was newly come from *France*, and that He desired to be admitted to a private Audience with him, where Nobody else might be present." And so He was brought into a Backroom, whither the Chancellor came to him; to whom He presented a Letter directed to him from *Monsieur Fouquet*. The Letter after general Compliments took Notice "of the great Trust He had with his Master; and that He being now admitted to a Part of his Master's most secret Affairs, and knowing well the Affection that was between the two Kings, much desired to hold a close and secret Correspondence together, which He presumed would be for the Benefit of Both their Masters." The rest contained only a Credential, "that He should give Credit to all that the Bearer should say, who was a Person entirely trusted by him." And then^{gr} He entered upon his Discourse, consisting of these Parts:

- (1.) "THAT the King of *France* was troubled to hear, that there was some Obstruction fallen out in
"the

“ the Treaty with *Portugal*; and that it would be a Some particular Overtures from the Court of France.
 “ very generous Thing in his Majesty to undertake
 “ the Protection of that Crown, which if it should fall
 “ into the Possession of *Spain*, would be a great Da-
 “ mage and a great Shame to all the Kings in *Europe*.
 “ That himself had heretofore thought of marrying
 “ the *Infanta* of that Kingdom, who is a Lady of great
 “ Beauty and admirable Endowments; but that his
 “ Mother and his then Minister, and indeed all other
 “ Princes, so much desired the Peace between the
 “ Crowns, that He was diverted from that Design.
 “ And that for the perfecting that Peace and his Mar-
 “ riage with *Spain*, He had been compelled to desert
 “ *Portugal* for the present; and was obliged to send no
 “ Kind of Assistance thither, nor to receive any Am-
 “ bassadour from thence, nor to have any there: All
 “ which He could not but observe for some Time.
 “ But that *Portugal* was well assured of the Continu-
 “ ance of his Affection, and that He would find
 “ some Opportunity by one Way or other to preserve
 “ it. That He foresaw that his Majesty might not be
 “ provided so soon after his Return, in Regard of his
 “ other great Expenses, to disburse such a Sum of
 “ Money, as the sending a vigorous Assistance, which
 “ was necessary, would require. But for that He
 “ would take Care; and for the present cause to be
 “ paid to his Majesty three hundred thousand *Pistoles*,
 “ which would defray the Charge of that Summer’s
 “ Expedition; and for the future, Provision should
 “ be made proportionable to the Charge:” And con-
 “ cluded, “that He believed the King could not bestow
 “ himself better in Marriage, than with the *Infanta* of
 “ *Portugal*.”

(2.) A SECOND Part was, “ That there were now
 “ in *France* Ambassadors from the *States* of the *United*
 “ *Provinces*, and the like in *England*, to renew the
 “ Alliance with Both Crowns; which They hoped to
 “ do upon the disadvantageous Terms They had used
 “ to obtain it. That those People were grown too
 “ proud

“proud and insolent towards all their Neighbours, and
 “treated all Kings as if They were at least their Equals:
 “That *France* had been ill used by them, and was sensible of it; and that the King had not been much
 “beholden to them.” And therefore He proposed,
 “that Both Kings upon this Occasion would so communicate their Counsels, that They might reduce
 “that People to live like good Neighbours, and
 “with more good Manners; and that They would
 “treat solely and advance together, and that the One
 “should promise not to conclude any Thing without communicating it to the other: So that Both
 “Treaties might be concluded together.”

(3.) “THAT those Particulars, and whatsoever passed
 “between *M. Fouquet* and, the Chancellor, might be
 “retained with wonderful Secrecy; which it would not
 “be, if it were communicated to the Queen or the
 “Earl of *St. Albans*” (who were at that Time in
France): “And therefore his *Christian* Majesty desired,
 “that neither of them should know of this Correspondence, or any Particular that passed by it.”

WHEN the Gentleman had finished his Discourse, the Chancellor told him, “that He knew *M. Fouquet*
 “to be so wise a Man, that He would not invite or
 “enter into such a Correspondence, without the Privy and Approbation of his Master: And He presumed that He had likewise so good an Opinion of
 “him, as to believe, that He would first inform his
 “Majesty of all that He received from him, before
 “He would return any Answer himself. That He⁹²
 “would take the first Opportunity to acquaint the
 “King his Master; and if He would come the next
 “Day at the same Hour” (which was about Four in the Afternoon) “to the same Place, He would return
 “his Answer.”

THE King came the next Day before the Hour assigned to the Chancellor’s House. And when He heard the Gentleman was come, his Majesty vouchsafed himself to go into that Backroom; and (the Chancellor
 telling

telling the other, "that He should be Witness to his Majesty's Approbation of his Correspondence"), took Notice of the Letter He had brought, and asked many kind Questions concerning *M. Fouquet*, who was known to him, and told him "that He was very well pleased with the Correspondence proposed; and that the Chancellor should perform his Part very punctually, and with the Secrecy that was desired; and that He would give his own Word, that the Queen and the Earl of *St. Albans* should know Nothing that should pass in this Correspondence:" Which the Chancellor observing with the Fidelity He ought to do, and this coming after to be known, it kindled a new Jealousy and Displeasure in the Queen, that was never afterwards extinguished. The King told him "He would upon the Encouragement and Promise of the *French King*, of the Performance whereof He could make no Doubt, proceed in the Treaty with *Portugal*; and give that Kingdom the best Assistance He could, without beginning a War with *Spain*. That for the Treaty with *Holland*, which was but newly begun" (for the *States* who had made Choice of and nominated their Ambassadors before the King left the *Hague*, did not send them in near six Months after; which his Majesty looked upon as a great Disrespect), "He would comply with what the King desired; and that his *Christian Majesty* should from Time to Time receive an Account how it should advance, and that He would not conclude any Thing without his Privy." How ill Both these Engagements which related to *Portugal* and *Holland* were afterwards observed by *France*, is fit for another Discourse by itself. The Gentleman, much satisfied with what the King had said, proposed "that He would make a Cipher against the next Day to be left in the Chancellor's Hand; because *M. Fouquet* desired, for Preservation of the Secret, that the Chancellor would always write with his own Hand in *English*, directed in such a Manner as He should

Which the King readily embraced.

"pro-

“propose; which would always bring the Letters safe
 “to the Hands of him, *La Bastee*, who was appoint-
 “ed by the King to keep that Cipher, to maintain
 “that Correspondence.”

*An Instance of
 the Chancellor's uncorrupt
 Integrity.*

THERE was another Circumstance that attended
 this private Negotiation, that may not be unfitly in-
 serted here, and is a sufficient Manifestation of the In-
 tegrity of the Chancellor, and how far He was from
 being that corrupt Person, which his most corrupt
 Enemies would have him thought to be. The next
 Morning after He had seen the King, *La Bastee* came
 again, and desired an Audience with the Chancellor.
 He said, “He had somewhat else in his Instructions to
 “say, which He had not yet thought fit to offer.”
 And from thence He entered in a confused Manner to
 enlarge “upon the great Power, Credit and Genero-
 “sity of *M. Fouquet*, the Extent of his Power and Of-
 “fice, that He could disburse and issue great Sums of
 “Money without any Account so much as to the
 “King himself; without which Liberty, the King
 “knew many secret Services of the highest Import-
 “ance could not be performed.” He said, “He
 “knew the Streights and Necessities, in which the
 “Chancellor and others about the King had lived for
 “many Years: And though He was now returned
 “with much Honour, and in great Trust with his
 “Master; yet He did suppose He might be some⁽⁹¹⁾
 “Time without those Furnitures of Householdstuff
 “and Plate, which the Grandeur of his Office and
 “Place required. And therefore that He had sent
 “him a Present, which in itself was but small, and
 “was only the Earnest of as much every Year, which
 “should be constantly paid, and more, if He had
 “Occasion to use it; for *M. Fouquet* did not look upon
 “it as of Moment to himself. But He knew well the
 “Faction in all Courts, and that He must have many
 “Enemies; and if He did not make himself Friends
 “by Acts of Generosity and Bounty, He must be op-
 “pressed; and that He had designed this Supply only
 “to

"to that Purpose." He shewed him then Bills of Exchange and Credit for the Sum of ten thousand Pounds *Sterling*, to be paid at Sight : And said, "that He had been with the Merchant, who would be ready to pay it that Afternoon ; so that whoever He would please to appoint should receive it." The Chancellor had heard him with much Indignation ; and answered him warmly, "that if this Correspondence must expose him to such a Reproach, He should unwillingly enter into it ; and wished him to tell *M. Fouquet*, that He would only receive Wages from his own Master." The Gentleman so little looked for a Refusal, that He would not understand it ; but persisted to know "who should receive the Money, which," He said, "should be paid in such a Manner, that the Person who paid it should never know to whom it was paid ; and that it should always remain a Secret ;" still pressing it with Importunity, till the other went with manifest Anger out of the Room.

THAT Afternoon the King and Duke (who was likewise informed of the Correspondence) came to the Chancellor, and found him out of Humour. He told him, "that *Fouquet* could not be an honest Man ; and that He had no Mind to hold that Correspondence with him ;" and thereupon repeated what had passed in the Morning, with much Choler : Which made them Both laugh at him, saying, "the *French* did all their Business that Way : " and the King told him "He was a Fool," implying "that He should take his Money." Whereupon the Chancellor besought him "not to appear to his Servants so unconcerned in Matters of that Nature, which might produce ill Effects ;" and desired him to consider ; "what the Consequence of his receiving that Money, with what Secrecy soever, must be. That the *French* King must either believe that He had received it without his Majesty's Privity, and so look upon him as a Knave fit to be depended upon in any Treachery
" against

“against his Master; or that it was with his Majesty’s
 “Approbation, which must needs lessen his Esteem
 “of him, that He should permit his Servants of the
 “nearest Trust to grow rich at the Charge of another
 “Prince, who might the next Day become his Ene-
 “my.” To which the King smiling made no other
 Reply, “than that few Men were so scrupulous;”
 and commanded him “to return a civil Answer to
 “*M. Fouquet’s* Letter, and to cherish that Correspon-
 “dence, which” He said “might be useful to him,
 “and could produce no Inconveniency.” And so,
 when *La Bastee* (who could not forbear to use new
 Importunity with him to receive the Money, till He
 found He was much offended) brought him the Cipher,
 He delivered him his Letter for *M. Fouquet*. And the
 next Week after his Return, the King of *France* writ
 to him in his own Hand, “that the Correspondence
 “*M. Fouquet* had invited him to, was with his Ma-
 “jesty’s Privy; and that He was well pleased with
 “it.” And so the Correspondence continued till that
 great Man’s Fall: And then the King sent all the Let-
 ters which had passed, and the Cipher, to the Chan-
 cellor; and writ to him, “from that Time to com-
 “municate with all Freedom with his Ambassadour,”
 which He was before restrained from.

*The Measures
 in Portugal
 relative to the
 Treaty of
 Marriage.*

AFTER the King had himself conferred at large
 with the *Portugal* Ambassadour, He referred him again
 to give the Lords, with whom He had formerly treated,
 an Account how all Particulars were adjusted in *Por-
 tugal*; “which were,” He said, “in this Manner. For
 “the Portion, the Queen Regent, having resolved
 “not to dispose of any of the Money that was provided
 “for the War, had sold her own Jewels, and much
 “of her own Plate, and had borrowed both Plate and
 “Jewels from the Churches and Monasteries: By
 “which Means She had the whole Portion ready,
 “which was all sealed up in Bags, and deposited where
 “Nobody could take it to apply to any other Use.
 “For the Delivery of *Tangier*, that the old Governour
 “(who

“ (who had lived there long, and was humourous) on
 “ whom the Queen could not confidently depend, was
 “ removed; and another sent, before He left *Lisbon*,
 “ to take that Charge, who was a Creature of the
 “ Queen, who could not deceive her, and was so far
 “ trusted, that He knew for what End He was sent
 “ thither, and cheerfully undertook to perform it :
 “ And that the Fleet which should be sent for the Queen
 “ should first go to *Tangier*, and take Possession thereof;
 “ and till that should be delivered into his Majesty’s
 “ Hands, the Queen should not embark upon the
 “ Fleet, nor till all the Money should be put on Board.
 “ That for the Delivery of *Bombayne*, it was resolved
 “ likewise, that the Vice-King and Governour of *Goa*,
 “ under whom that Island likewise is, should be forth-
 “ with recalled; and that another” (whom He named),
 “ of whom the Queen had all Assurance, should be
 “ sent to that high Charge, and should be transported
 “ thither in the Fleet which the King would send to
 “ receive the Island, and would deliver the same to
 “ the Person designed to receive it.” He added,
 “ that there would be another Security given, greater
 “ than any of the rest, and such an one as had never
 “ been given before in such a Case. That the Queen
 “ should be delivered on Board the Fleet, and trans-
 “ ported into *England*, before She was married : Which
 “ was such a Trust as had never been reposed in
 “ any Prince, who, if He would break his Word,
 “ might put an everlasting Reproach upon their Na-
 “ tion.”

THE Cause of this extraordinary Circumstance was
 truly this. The Power of *Spain* was so great in the
 Court of *Rome*, notwithstanding the Interposition and
 threatening Mediation of *France*, (whose Ambassadour
 declared that *Portugal* should choose a Patriarch, and
 have no longer Dependence upon the Pope); that nei-
 ther *Urban*, in whose Reign that Kingdom severed it-
 self from *Spain*, nor *Innocent* nor *Alexander*, would ac-
 knowledge the Duke of *Braganza* for King, nor re-

ceive an Ambassadour or other Minister from him : So that They now foresaw, that if They should in what Manner soever demand a Dispensation at *Rome* (without which the Marriage could not be celebrated in *Portugal*), the Interest of *Spain* would cause it to be denied, or granted in such a Manner as should be worse for them ; for the Queen would have been mentioned only as the Daughter and Sister of the Duke of *Braganza*. And before They would receive that Affront, the most jealous and most apprehensive Nation in the World chose rather to send the Daughter of the Kingdom to be married in *England*, and not to be married till She came thither.

The King refers the Whole to a full Privy Council.

UPON the whole Matter, the King thought not fit to make any farther Exceptions, but resolved to assemble his whole Privy Council, and to communicate the Matter to them ; for it did remain a Secret yet, no Man knowing or speaking of it. The Council was so⁽⁹⁵⁾ full, that there was only one Counsellor that was absent. The King informed them of all that had passed in that Affair, "how it was first proposed to him, and "the Objections which occurred to him against it ; "for the better clearing whereof the Ambassadour "had made a Voyage into *Portugal*, and was returned "with such Satisfaction to all Particulars, that He "thought it now Time to communicate the Whole to "them, that He might receive their Advice." He commanded then the particular Propositions, which were offered by the Ambassadour, to be reported. And thereupon He commanded and conjured all the Lords severally to give him their Advice ; for He said "He "had not yet so firmly resolved, but that He might "change his Mind, if He heard Reasons to move "him : And therefore They would not deal faithfully "with him, if They did not with all Freedom declare their Judgment to him." In short, every Man delivered his Opinion, and every One agreed in the Opinion, "that it was very fit for his Majesty to embrace the Propositions, which were of great Advantage

"vantage to himself and the Kingdom;" and that their Advice was, "that He should speedily and without more Delay conclude the Treaty." And thereupon his Majesty said, "that He looked upon so unanimous a Concurrence as a good Omen, and that He would follow their Advice."

Which unanimously advises him to conclude the Treaty.

ALL this was done between the Dissolution of the Parliament in *December*, and the assembling the other in *May* following. And upon the first Day of its coming together, which was upon the eighth of *May*, the very Day that his Majesty had been proclaimed the Year before, He told them "that He had deferred it a Week, That They might meet upon that Day, for the Memory of the former Day." The King, after some gracious Expressions of his Confidence in them, told them "that They would find what Method He thought best for their Proceeding, by two Bills which He had caused to be provided for them, which were for Confirmation of all that had been enacted in the last Meeting;" and repeated what He had said to them when He was last there: "That next to the miraculous Blessing of God Almighty, and indeed as an immediate Effect of that Blessing, He did impute the good Disposition and Security They were all in, to the happy Act of Indemnity and Oblivion: That," his Majesty said, "was the principal Corner-Stone that supported that excellent Building, that created Kindness in them to each other; and Confidence was their joint and common Security." He told them, "He was still of the same Opinion, and more if it were possible of that Opinion than He had been, by the Experience He had of the Benefit of it, and from the Unreasonableness of what some Men said against it." He desired them "to provide full Remedies for future Mischiefs; to be as severe as They would against new Offenders, especially if They were so upon old Principles; and that They would pull up those Principles by the Roots. But," his Majesty said, "He should never think him a wise

The new Parliament meets.

The King's Speech.

He presses them to confirm the Act of Indemnity.

“ Man, that would endeavour to undermine and shake
 “ that Foundation of the publick Peace, by infringing
 “ that Act in the least Degree ; or that He could be
 “ his Friend, or wish him well, who would persuade
 “ him ever to consent to the Breach of a Promise He
 “ had so solemnly made when He was abroad, and had
 “ performed with that Solemnity after, and because
 “ He had promised it : And that He could not suf-
 “ fect any Attempts of that Kind by any Men of Me-
 “ rit and Virtue.”

AND this Warmth of his Majesty upon this Sub-
 ject was not then more than needed : For the Armies
 being now disbanded, there were great Combinations
 entered into, not to confirm the *Act of Oblivion* ; which⁹⁶
 They knew without Confirmation would signify No-
 thing. Men were well enough contented, that the
 King should grant Indemnity to all Men that had re-
 belled against him ; that He should grant their Lives
 and Fortunes to them, who had forfeited them to him :
 But They thought it very unreasonable and unjust, that
 the King should release those Debts which were imme-
 diately due to them, and forgive those Trespasses which
 had been committed to their particular Damage. They
 could not endure to meet the same Men in the King's
 Highway, now it was the King's Highway again,
 who had heretofore affronted them in those Ways, be-
 cause they were not the King's, and only because They
 knew They could obtain no Justice against them.
 They could not with any Patience see those Men,
 who not only during the War had oppressed them,
 plundered their Houses, and had their own adorned
 with the Furniture They had robbed them of, ride
 upon the same Horses which They had then taken
 from them upon no other Pretence, but because they
 were better than their own ; but after the War was
 ended, had committed many insolent Trespasses upon
 them wantonly, and to shew their Power of Justice of
 Peace or Committee Men, and had from the lowest
 Beggary raised great Estates, out of which They were
 well

well able to satisfy, at least in some Degree, the Damages the other had sustained. And those and other Passions of this Kind, which must have invalidated the whole *Act of Indemnity*, could not have been extinguished without the King's Influence, and indeed his immediate Interposition and Industry.

WHEN his Majesty had spoken all He thought fit upon that Subject, He told them, "He could not conclude without telling them some News, News that He thought would be very acceptable to them; and therefore He should think himself unkind and illnatured, if He should not impart it to them. That He had been often put in Mind by his Friends, that it was high Time to marry; and He had thought so himself, ever since He came into *England*: But there appeared Difficulties enough in the Choice, though many Overtures had been made to him. And if He should never marry till He could make such a Choice, against which there could be no Foresight of any Inconvenience that might ensue, They would live to see him an old Bachelor, which He thought They did not desire to do." He said, "He could now tell them, not only that He was resolved to marry, but whom He resolved to marry, if it pleased God. That towards his Resolution, He had used that Deliberation, and taken that Advice, that He ought to do in a Case of that Importance, and with a full Consideration of the Good of his Subjects in general, as of himself. It was with the Daughter of *Portugal*. That when He had, as well as He could, weighed all that occurred to himself, the first Resolution He took, was to state the whole Overtures which had been made to him, and in Truth all that had been said against to his Privy Council; without hearing whose Advice, He never did nor ever would resolve any Thing of publick Importance. And," He said, "He told them with great Satisfaction and Comfort to himself, that after many Hours Debate in full Council (for He thought

He acquaints them with his intended Marriage.

“there was not above One absent), and He believed
 “upon weighing all that could be said upon that Sub-
 “ject, for or against it; the Lords, without one dis-
 “senting Voice, advised him with all imaginable
 “Cheerfulness to this Marriage: Which He looked
 “upon as very wonderful, and even as some Instance
 “of the Approbation of God himself. That He had
 “thereupon taken his own Resolution, and concluded
 “with the Ambassadour of *Portugal*, who was depart-
 “ing with the whole Treaty signed, which They
 “would find to contain many great Advantages to
 “the Kingdom; and that He would make all the
 “Haste He could, to fetch them a Queen hither,
 “who He doubted not would bring great Blessings
 “with her, to him and them.”

*The two
 Houses express
 their Appro-
 bation of it.*

THE next Day the two Houses of Parliament, after They had expressed all the Joy imaginable amongst them, sent to the King, “that He would appoint a Time when He would admit them to his Presence.” Which when He had done, Both Houses of Parliament, in a Body, presented by the Speaker of the House of Peers their humble Thanks to his Majesty, “for that He had vouchsafed to acquaint them with his Resolution to marry, which had exceedingly rejoiced their Hearts, and would, They doubted not, draw down God’s Blessing upon his Majesty and the Kingdom.” Shortly after, the Fleet was made ready, and the Earl of *Sandwich* Admiral thereof was likewise made Ambassadour to *Portugal*, and appointed to receive the Queen, and to conduct her into *England*.

THIS was the whole Proceeding, from the Beginning to the End of that Treaty about the Marriage of the King; the whole Circumstances whereof it is apparent enough, that no particular Corruption in any single Person could have brought it to pass in that Manner, and that the Chancellor never proposed it, nor heard of it but from the King himself, nor advanced it afterwards more than every One of the other
 Lords

Lords did; and if He had done less, He could neither have been thought a prudent or an honest Man: To which no more shall be added, than that neither before or in the Treaty, or after the Marriage, He ever received the least Reward or the least Present from *Portugal*.

DURING the Interval of Parliament, the King had ^{New Bishops} made Choice of many very eminent and learned Men, ^{appointed.} who were consecrated to some of the Sees of Bishops which were void; that the Preservation of the Succession might not depend upon the Lives of the few Bishops who remained, and who were all very aged: Which could not have been done sooner, nor till the other Parliament, to whom the Settlement of the Church had been referred, was dissolved. Nor could He yet give any Remedy to the License in the Practice of Religion, which in all Places was full of Scandal and Disorder, because *the Liturgy* was not yet finished; till when, the Indulgence by his Declaration was not to be restrained. But at the same Time that He issued out his Writs for convening the Parliament, He had likewise sent Summons to the Bishops, for the Meeting of the Clergy in Convocation, which is the ^{A Convocation} legal Synod in *England*; ^{summoned.} against the Coming together whereof *the Liturgy* would be finished, which his Majesty intended to send thither to be examined, debated and confirmed. And then He hoped to provide, with the Assistance of the Parliament, such a Settlement in Religion, as would prevent any Disorder in the State upon those Pretences. And it was very necessary to lose no Time in the Prosecution of that Cure; for the Malignity against the Church appeared to increase, and to be greater than it was upon the Coming in of the King.

THE old Bishops who remained alive, and such Deans and Chapters as were numerous enough for the Corporation, who had been long kept fasting, had now Appetites proportionable. Most of them were very poor, and had undergone great Extremities;
some

some of the Bishops having supported themselves and their Families by teaching Schools, and submitting to the like low Condescensions: And others saw, that if They died before They were enabled to make some Provision for them, their Wives and Children must unavoidably starve; and therefore They made Haste^(s) to enter upon their own. And, now an Ordinance of Parliament had not Strength enough to batter an Act of Parliament, They called their old Tenants to Account for Rent, and to renew their Estates if They had a Mind to it; for most old Leases were expired in the long Continuance of the War, and the old Tenants had been compelled either to purchase a new Right and Title from the State (when the Ordinance was passed for taking away all Bishops, Deans and Chapters, and for selling all the Lands which belonged to them), or to sell their present Estates to those, who had purchased the Reversion and the Inheritance thereof: So that both the one and the other, the old Tenants and the new Purchasers, repaired to the true Owners as soon as the King was restored; the former expecting to be restored again to the Possession of what They had sold, under an unreasonable Pretence of a Tenant Right (as They called it), because there remained yet (as in many Cases there did) a Year or some other Term of their old Leases unexpired, and because They had out of Conscience forborne to buy the Inheritance of the Church, which was first offered to them. And for the Refusal thereof, and such a reasonable Fine as was usual, They hoped to have a new Lease, and to be readmitted to be Tenants to the Church. The other, the Purchasers (amongst which there were some very infamous Persons), appeared as confident, and did not think, that according to the Clemency that was practised towards all Sorts of Men, it could be thought Justice, that They should lose the entire Sum They had disbursed upon the Faith of that Government, which the whole Kingdom submitted to; but that They should, instead of the Inheritance They had

had

had an ill Title to, have a good Lease for Lives or Years granted to them by them who had now the Right; at least, that upon the old Rent and moderate Fines They should be continued Tenants to the Church, without any Regard to those who had sold both their Possession, and with that all the Right or Title that They might pretend to, for a valuable Consideration. And They had the more Hope of this, because the King had granted a Commission, under the Great Seal of *England*, to some Lords of the Council and to other eminent Persons, to interpose and mediate with the Bishops and Clergy in such Cases, as ought not to be prosecuted with Rigour.

BUT the Bishops and Clergy concerned had not the good Fortune to please their old or their new Tenants. They had been very barbarously used themselves; and that had too much quenched all Tenderness towards others. They did not enough distinguish between Persons: Nor did the Suffering any Man had undergone for Fidelity to the King, or his Affection to the Church eminently expressed, often prevail for the Mitigation of his Fine; or if it did sometimes, three or four Stories of the contrary, and in which there had been some unreasonable Hardness used, made a greater Noise and spread farther, than their Examples of Charity and Moderation. And as honest Men did not usually fare the better for any Merit, so the Purchasers who offered most Money, did not fare the worse for all the Villanies They had committed. And two or three unhappy Instances of this Kind brought Scandal upon the whole Church, as if They had been all guilty of the same Excesses, which They were far from. And by this Means the new Bishops, who did not all follow the Precedents made by the old, underwent the same Reproaches: And many of them who had most adhered to their Order, and for so doing had undergone for twenty Years together sundry Persecutions and Oppressions, were not in their present Passion so much pleased with the renewing it, as They expected

*A Clamour
raised against
the Bishops
and Clergy by
their Tenants.*

pected to have been. Yet upon a very strict Examination⁽⁹⁹⁾ of the true Grounds of all those Misprisions (except some few Instances which cannot be defended), there will be found more Passion than Justice in them; and that there was even a Necessity to raise as much Money as could be justly done, for the repairing the Cathedrals, which were all miserably ruinated or defaced, and for the entirely building up many Houses of the Prebends, which had been pulled down or let fall to the Ground. And those Ways much more of those Monies which were raised by Fines were issued and expended, than what went into the private Purfes of them, who had a Right to them, and had Need enough of them. But the Time began to be froward again, and all Degrees of Men were hard to be pleased; especially when They saw one *Classis* of Men restored to more than They had ever lost, and preferred to a Plenty They had never been acquainted with, whilst themselves remained remediless after so many Sufferings, and without any other Testimony of their Courage and Fidelity, than in the Ruin of their Fortunes, and the Sale of their Inheritance.

*The King's
Coronation.*

ANOTHER great Work was performed, between the Dissolution of the last and the Beginning of the next Parliament, which was the Ceremony of the King's Coronation; and was done with the greatest Solemnity and Glory, that ever any had been seen in that Kingdom. That the Novelties and new Inventions, with which the Kingdom had been so much intoxicated for so many Years together, might be discountenanced and discredited in the Eyes of the People, for the Folly and Want of State thereof; his Majesty had directed the Records and old Formularies should be examined, and thereupon all Things should be prepared, and all Forms accustomed be used, that might add Lustre and Splendour to the Solemnity. A *Court of Claims* was erected, where before the Lords Commissioners for that Service, all Persons made Claim to those Privileges and Precedency, which They conceived

ceived to be due to their Persons, or the Offices of which They were possessed, in the Ceremony of the Coronation; which were allowed or rejected as their Right appeared.

THE King went early in the Morning to the *Tower of London*, in his Coach, most of the Lords being there before. And about ten of the Clock They set forward towards *Whitehall*, ranged in that Order as the Heralds had appointed; those of the Long Robe, the King's Council at Law, the Masters of the Chancery, and Judges, going first, and so the Lords in their Order, very splendidly habited, on rich Footcloths; the Number of their Footmen being limited, to the Dukes ten, to the Earls eight, and to the Viscounts six, and the Barons four, all richly clad, as their other Servants were. The whole Shew was the most glorious in the Order and Expense, that had been ever seen in *England*; They who rode first being in *Fleet-street* when the King issued out of the *Tower*, as was known by the Discharge of the Ordnance: And it was near three of the Clock in the Afternoon, when the King alighted at *Whitehall*. The next Morning the King rode in the same State in his Robes and with his Crown on his Head, and all the Lords in their Robes, to *Westminster-Hall*; where all the Ensigns for the Coronation were delivered to those who were appointed to carry them, the Earl of *Northumberland* being made High Constable, and the Earl of *Suffolk* Earl Marshal, for the Day. And then all the Lords in their Order, and the King himself, walked on Foot upon blue Cloth from *Westminster-Hall* to the *Abbey Church*, where after a Sermon preached by Dr. Morley (then Bishop of *Worcester*) in *Henry the Seventh's Chapel*, the King was sworn, crowned and anointed, by Dr. *Juxon* Archbishop of ¹⁰⁰*Canterbury*, with all the Solemnity that in those Cases had been used. All which being done, the King returned in the same Manner on Foot to *Westminster-Hall*, which was adorned with rich Hangings and Statues; and there the King dined, and the Lords

on either Side at Tables provided for them : And all other Ceremonies were performed with great Order and Magnificence.

*Two unhappy
Accidents
which at-
tended it.*

I SHOULD not have enlarged thus much upon the Ceremony of the Coronation, it may be not mentioned it (a perfect Narration having been then made and published of it, with all the Grandeur and Magnificence of the City of *London*), but that there were two Accidents in it, the one absolutely new, the other that produced some Inconveniences which were not then discerned. The first was, that it being the Custom in those great Ceremonies or Triumphs of State, that the Master of the King's Horse, (who was always a great Man, and was now the Duke of *Albemarle*, the General) rides next after the King, with a led Horse in his Hand : In this Occasion the Duke of *York* privately prevailed with the King, who had not enough Reverence for old Customs, without any Consultation, that his Master of his Horse (so He was called), Mr. *Jermyn*, a younger Brother of a very private Gentleman's Family, should ride as near his Person, as the General did to his Majesty, and lead a Horse likewise in his Hand ; a Thing never heard of before. Neither in Truth hath the younger Brother of the King such an Officer as Master of his Horse, which is a Term restrained within the Family of the King, Queen, and Prince of *Wales* ; and the two Masters of the Horse to the Queen and Prince are subordinate to the King's Master of his Horse, who hath the Jurisdiction over the other. The Lords were exceedingly surprized and troubled at this, of which They heard Nothing till They saw it ; and They liked it the worse, because They discerned that it issued from a Fountain, from whence many bitter Waters were like to flow, the Customs of the Court of *France*, whereof the King and the Duke had too much the Image in their Heads, and than which there could not be a Copy more universally ingrateful and odious to the *English* Nation.

THE

THE other was : In the Morning of the Coronation, whilst They sate at the Table in *Westminster-Hall*, to see the many Ensigns of the Coronation delivered to those Lords who were appointed to carry them, the Earl of *Northumberland*, who was that Day High Constable, came to the King and told him, "that amongst the young Noblemen who were appointed to carry the several Parts of the King's Mantle, the Lord *Ossory*, who was the eldest Son to the Duke of *Ormond*, challenged the Place before the Lord *Percy*, who was his eldest Son ; whereas," He said, "the Duke of *Ormond* had no Place in the Ceremony of that Day, as Duke, but only as Earl of *Brecknock*, and so the eldest Sons of all ancients Earls ought to take Place of his eldest Son ;" which was so known a Rule, and of so general a Concernment, that the King could not choose but declare it, and send a Message to the Lord *Ossory* by the Lord Chamberlain, "that He should desist from his Pretence." This, and the public Manner of asking and determining it, produced two ill Effects. The first, a Jealousy and ill Understanding between the two great Families : The One naturally undervaluing and contemning his Equals, without paying much Regard to his Superiours ; and the other not being used to be contemned by any, and well knowing that all the Advantages the Earl had in *England*, either in Antiquity or Fortune, He had the same in *Ireland*, and that He had merited and received an Increase of Title, when the other had deserved to lose that which He was born to. The other, was a Jealousy and Prejudice that it raised in the Nobility of *England*, as if the Duke of *Ormond* (who in Truth knew Nothing of it) had entered upon that Contest, in Hope that by his Interest in the King, He should be able to put this eternal Affront upon the Peers of *England*, to bring them upon the same Level with those of *Ireland*, who had no such Esteem. And it did not a little add to their Envy, that He had behaved himself so worthily throughout the ill Times,

Times, that He was the Object of an universal Reverence at home and abroad; which was a Reproach to most of them, whose Actions would not bear the Light. But as the Duke was not in the least Degred privy to the particular Contest, nor raised the Value of himself from any Merit in his Services, nor undervalued others upon the Advantage of their having done amiss; so He was abundantly satisfied in the Testimony of his own Conscience, and in his unquestionable Innocence, and from thence too much despised the Prejudice and the Envy the others had towards him, the Marks whereof He was compelled afterwards to bear, which He did with the same Magnanimity.

A solemn Interment of the late King intended.

BEFORE We proceed farther in the Relation of what was afterwards done, it will not be unseasonable in this Place to give an Account of somewhat that was not done, and which was generally expected to have been done, and as generally censured because it was not; the Reason whereof is known to very few. The King had resolved before his Coming into *England*, that as soon as He should be settled in any Condition of Security, and no just Apprehension of future Troubles, He would take up and remove the Body of his Father, the last King, from *Windfor*, and inter it with all Solemnity at *Westminster*; and that the Court should continue in Mourning till the Coronation. And many good People thought this so necessary, that They were much troubled that it was not done, and liked not the Reasons which were given, which made it appear that it had been considered. The Reasons which were given in publick Discourses from Hand to Hand, were two. The first; that now ten Years were past since that woful Tragedy, and the Joy and the Triumph for the King's Return had composed the Minds of the People, it would not be prudent to renew the Memory of that Parricide, by the Spectacle of a solemn Funeral; lest it might cause such Commotions of the Vulgar in all Places, as might produce

duce great Disorders and Insurrections amongst those who had formerly served the Kingdom, as if it were a good Season and a new Provocation to take Revenge upon their Neighbours who had formerly tyrannised over them; which might likewise have caused the Soldiers, who were newly disbanded, to draw themselves together for their own Security: And so the Peace would be at least disturbed. The other was; that to perform this Interment in any private Manner, would be liable to very just Censure, when all Things relating to the King himself had shewed so magnificently; and if it were done with the usual Pomp of a solemn Interment of a King, the Expense would be so vast, that there would be neither Money found nor Credit for the Charge thereof.

THESE were the Reasons alleged and spread abroad; nor was either of them in itself without Weight to thinking Men. But the true Reason was: ^{But upon Search the Body could not be found.} At the Time of that horrid Murder, *Windsor* was a Garrison under the Command of a Citizen, who was an *Anabaptist*, with all his Officers and Soldiers: The Men had broken down all the Wainscot, Rails and Partitions, which divided the Church, defaced all the Monuments and other Marks, and reduced the Whole into the Form of a Stable or Barn, and scarce fit for any other Use. When *Cromwell* had declared that the ¹⁰²³ Royal Body should be privately interred in the Church of the Castle at *Windsor*, and the Marquis of *Hertford*, the Duke of *Richmond*, the Earls of *Southampton* and *Lindsey*, had obtained Leave to be present (only to be present, for They had no Power to prepare or do any Thing in it) at their Master's Burial; those great Men were not suffered to have above three Servants each, to enter into the Castle with them; and it may easily be concluded, that their own noble Hearts were too full of Sorrow, to send their Eyes abroad to take Notice of the Places by which They passed. They found the Church so wild a Place, that They knew not where They were; and as soon as the Royal Body

was

other received no Satisfaction in it, and the less, because He plainly discerned that it proceeded from Pride, which He bore the more uneasily, because He was now the greater Man, so He knew himself to be of a much better Family. He made so many Doubts and Criticisms upon the Draught of his Patent, that the Attorney General was weary of attending him; and when all Things were agreed on a Night, the next Morning produced new Dilemmas: But that which was worse than all this, He received those of the *Irish* Nation of the best Quality, and who were of the Privy Council and chief Command in the Kingdom, so superciliously; received their Information so negligently, and gave his Answers so scornfully; that after They had waited upon him four or five Days, They besought the King that They might not be obliged to attend him any more. And it was evident, that his Carriage towards them was not to be submitted to by Persons of his own Quality, or of any liberal Education: Nor did He make any Advance towards the Business.

THIS gave the King very great Trouble, and them as much Pleasure who had never liked the Designation. He knew not what to do with his Deputy nor what to do for *Ireland*. The Lord *Roberts* was not a Man that was to be disgraced and thrown off without much Inconvenience and Hazard. He had Parts which in Council and Parliament (which were the two Scenes where all the King's Business lay) were very troublesome; for of all Men alive who had few Friends, He had the most Followers. They who conversed most with him, knew him to have many Humours which were very intolerable; They who were but a little acquainted with him, took him to be a Man of much Knowledge, and called his Morosity Gravity and thought the Severity of his Manners made him less grateful to the Courtiers. He had no such advantageous Faculties in his Delivery, as could impose upon his Auditors; but He was never tedious, and
hi

his Words made Impression. In a Word, He was such a Man, as the King thought worthy to be compounded with. And therefore his Majesty appointed the Lord Chancellor and the Lord Treasurer to confer with him, and to dispose him to accept the Office of Privy Seal, which gave him a great Precedence that would gratify that Passion which was strongest in him; for in his Nature He preferred Place before Money, which his Fortune stood more in Need of. And the King thought it would be no ill Argument to incline him to give over the Thought of *Ireland*, that it was impossible for the King, to supply him for the present with near any such Sum of Money as He had very reasonably demanded, for the Satisfaction of the Army there (which was upon the Matter to be new modelled, and some Part of it disbanded) with the Reduction of many Officers, and for his own Equipage.

*The King
made Lord
Roberts an
Offer of the
Privy Seal.*

THEY began their Approach to him, by asking him "when He would be ready for his Journey to *Ireland*;" to which He answered with some Quickness, "that He was confident there was no Purpose to send him thither, for that He saw there was no Preparation of those Things, without which the King knew well that it was not possible for him to go; nor had his Majesty lately spoken to him of it. Besides He had observed, that the Chancellor had for many Days past called him at the Council, and in all other Places where They met, by the Name of Lord *Roberts*; whereas, for some Months before, He had upon all Occasions and in all Places treated him with the Style of Lord Deputy: Which gave him first Cause to believe, that there was some Alteration in the Purpose of sending him thither." They Both assured him, "that the King had no other Person in his View but himself for that Service, if He were disposed to undertake it vigorously; but that the King had forbore lately to speak with him of it, because He found it impossible for him to

Cromwell out of his Husbandry had reserved for himself, exempt from all Title or Pretence of *Adventurer* or Soldier: What other Part of his Estate either the one or the other were possessed of, in their own Judgments it was so impossible for them to enjoy, that They very willingly yielded it up to the Marquis, in Hope of having Recompense made to them out of other Lands. There could as little be said against the Restoration of the Earl of *Inchiquin* to his Estate, which had been taken from him and distributed amongst the *Adventurers* and Soldiers, for no other Cause but his serving the King. There were likewise some others of the same *Classis*, who had Nothing objected to them but their Loyalty, who were put into the Possession of their own Estates. And all this gave no Occasion of Murmur; every Man of what Interest soever believing or pretending to believe, that the King was obliged in Honour, Justice and Conscience, to cause that Right to be done to those who had served him faithfully.

*Church Lands
restored, and
new Bishops
appointed.*

THERE could be as little Doubt, and there was as little Opposition visible, in the Claim of the Church: So that the King made Choice of many grave Divines, to whom He assigned Bishopricks in *Ireland*, and sent them thither, to be consecrated by the Bishops who remained alive there according to the Laws of that Kingdom; and conferred the other Dignities and Church-Preferments upon worthy Men, who were all authorized to enter upon those Lands, which belonged to their several Churches. And in this general Zeal for the Church, some new Grants were made of Lands and Impropriations, which were not enough deliberated, and gave afterwards great Interruption to the Settlement of the Kingdom, and brought Envy upon the Church and Churchmen, when the Restoration to what was their own was generally well approved.

THE Pretences of the *Adventurers* and Soldiers were very much involved and perplexed: Yet They gave the King little other Trouble, than the general Care
and

and Solicitude, that by an unseasonable Disturbance of their Possessions there, the Soldiers who had been disbanded, and those of the standing Army (who for the most Part had the same ill Affections), might not unite together, and seize upon some Places of Defence, before his Affairs in that Kingdom should be put in such an Order as to oppose them. And next that Apprehension, his Majesty had no Mind that any of those Soldiers; either who had been disbanded, and put into Possession of Lands for the Arrears of their Pay, and upon which They now lived; or of the other, the standing Army, many whereof were likewise in Possession of Lands assigned to them: I say, the King was not without Apprehension, that the Resort of either of these into *England* might find too many of their old Friends and Associates, ready to concord with them in any desperate Measures, and for controlling of which He was not enough provided even in this Kingdom. But for their private and particular Interest, the King cared not much how it was compounded, nor considered the Danger if it were not compounded. For besides the Factions, Divisions and Animosities, which were between themselves, and very great; They could have no Cause of Complaint against the King, who would take Nothing from them to which They had the least Pretence of Law or Right. And for their other Demands, He would leave them to litigate between themselves; it being evident to all Men, that there must be some Judicatory erected by Act of Parliament, that only could examine and put an End to all those Pretences: The Perusal and Examination of which Act of Parliament, when the same should be prepared, his Majesty resolved that all Parties should have, and that He would hear their particular Exceptions to it, before He would transmit it into *Ireland* to be passed.

THAT which gave the King the only Trouble and Solicitude, was the miserable Condition of the *Irish* Nation, that was so near an Extirpation; the Thought where-

The King inclined to favour the Pretensions of the Irish Catholics.

whereof his Majesty's Heart abhorred. Nor can it be denied, that either from the Indignation He had against those, in whose Favour the other poor People were miserably destroyed, or from his own natural Compassion and Tenderneſs, and the juſt Regard of the Merit of many of them who had ſerved him with Fidelity, He had a very ſtrong and princely Inclination to do the beſt He could, without doing apparent Injuſtice, to perſerve them in a tolerable Condition of Subjects. This made him give them, who were moſt concerned and ſolicitous on their Behalf, Liberty to reſort to his Preſence; and hear all They could allege for themſelves, in private or in publick. And this Indulgence proved to their Diſadvantage, and exalted them ſo much, that when They were heard in publick at the Board, They behaved themſelves with leſs Modeſty towards their Adverſaries, who ſtood upon the Advantage-Ground, and with leſs Reverence in the Preſence of the King, than the Truth of their Condition and any ordinary Diſcretion would have required. And their Diſadvantage was the greater, becauſe They who ſpoke publickly on their Behalf, and were very well qualified to ſpeak, and left Nothing for the Matter unſaid that was for their Purpoſe, were Men, who from the Beginning to the End of the Rebellion, had behaved themſelves eminently ill towards the King. And They of their Adverſaries who ſpoke againſt them, had great Knowledge and Experience of all that had paſſed on either Side, and knew how to preſs it home when it was ſeaſonable.

The Plea of the Irish Catholics.

THEY of the *Iriſh*, who were all united under the Name of *The confederate Catholics of Ireland*, made their firſt Approach wiſely for Compaſſion; and urged
 “ their great and long Sufferings; the Loſs of their
 “ Eſtates for five or ſix and twenty Years; the waſt-
 “ ing and ſpending of the whole Nation in Battles,
 “ and Transportation of vaſt Multitudes of Men into
 “ the Parts beyond the Seas, whereof many had the
 “ Honour

"Honour to testify their Fidelity to the King by real
 "Services, and many of them returned into *England*
 "with him, and were still in his Service; the great
 "Numbers of Men, Women and Children, that had
 "been massacred and executed in cold Blood, after
 "the King's Government had been driven from
 "thence; the Multitudes that had been destroyed by
 "Famine and the Plague, those two heavy Judg-
 "ments having raged over the Kingdom for two or
 "three Years; and at last, as a Persecution unheard
 "of, the transplanting the small Remainder of the
 "Nation into one Corner of the Province of *Conaught*,
 "(m)" where yet much of the Lands was taken from them,
 "which had been assigned with all those Formalities
 "of Law, which were in Use and practised under
 "that Government.

(2.) THEY demanded "the Benefit of two
 "Treaties of Peace, the one in the late King's Time
 "and confirmed by him; the other confirmed by his
 "Majesty who was present; by Both which," They
 "said, "They stood indemnified for all Acts done by
 "them in the Rebellion; and insisted upon their In-
 "nocence since that Time, and that They had paid so
 "entire an Obedience to his Majesty's Commands
 "whilst He was beyond the Seas, that They betook
 "themselves to, and withdrew themselves from, the
 "Service of *France* or *Spain*, in such Manner as his
 "Majesty signified his Pleasure was They should do."
 And if They had ended here, They would have done
 wisely. But whether it was the Observation They
 made, that what They had said made Impression upon
 his Majesty and many of the Lords; or whether it
 was their evil Genius that naturally transported them
 to Actions of strange Sottishness and Indiscretion;
 They urged and enforced with more Liberty than be-
 came them in that Conjuncture, "the Unworthiness
 "and Incapacity of those, who for so many Years
 "had possessed themselves of their Estates, and sought
 "now

“now a Confirmation of their rebellious Title from
“his Majesty.”

(3.) “THAT their Rebellion had been more in-
“famous and of a greater Magnitude than that of
“the *Irish*, who had risen in Arms to free themselves
“from the Rigour and Severity that was exercised
“upon them by some of the King’s Ministers, and
“for the Liberty of their Conscience and Practice of
“their Religion, without having the least Intention or
“Thought of withdrawing themselves from his Ma-
“jesty’s Obedience, or declining his Government :
“Whereas the others had carried on an odious Re-
“bellion against the King’s sacred Person, whom
“They had horridly murdered in the Sight of the
“Sun, with all imaginable Circumstances of Con-
“tempt and Defiance, and as much as in them lay
“had rooted out Monarchy itself, and overturned and
“destroyed the whole Government of Church and
“State: And therefore that whatever Punishment the
“poor *Irish* had deserved for their former Trans-
“gressions, which They had so long repented of,
“and departed from the Rebellion when They had
“Armies and strong Towns in their Hands, which
“They, together with themselves, had put again un-
“der his Majesty’s Protection ; this Part of the *Eng-
“lish*, who were possessed of their Estates, had broken
“all their Obligations to God and the King, and so
“could not merit to be gratified with their Ruin and
“total Destruction. That it was too evident and no-
“torious to the World, that his Majesty’s three King-
“doms had been very faulty to him, and withdrawn
“themselves from his Government ; by which He had
“been compelled to live in Exile so many Years :
“And yet, that upon their Return to their Duty and
“Obedience, He had been graciously pleased to grant
“a free and general Pardon and Act of Indemnity, in
“which many were comprehended, who in Truth
“had been the Contrivers and Fomenters of all the
“Misery and Desolation, which had involved the
“three

"three Nations for so many Years. And therefore
 "that They hoped, that when all his Majesty's other
 "Subjects (as criminal at least as They were) were,
 "by his Majesty's Clemency, restored to their own
 "Estates which They had forfeited, and were in full
 "Peace, Mirth and Joy; the poor *Irisb* alone should
 "not be totally exempt from all his Majesty's Grace,
 "and left in Tears and Mourning and Lamentation,
 "and be sacrificed without Redemption to the Avarice
 "and Cruelty of those, who had not only spoiled
 (108) "and oppressed them, but had done all that was in
 "their Power, and with all the Insolence imaginable,
 "to destroy the King himself and his Posterity, and
 "who now returned to their Obedience, and submitted
 "to his Government, when They were no longer able
 "to oppose it. Nor did They yet return to it with that
 "Alacrity and Joy and Resignation as the *Irisb* did,
 "but insisted obstinately upon Demands unreasonable,
 "and which They hoped could not consist with his
 "Majesty's Honour to grant." And so concluded with
 "those pathetic Applications and Appeals to the King,
 "as Men well versed in Discourses of that Nature are
 "accustomed to.

THIS Discourse carried on and urged with more
 Passion, Vehemence and Indiscretion, than was suitable
 to the Condition They were in, and in which, by the
 Excesses of their Rhetorick, They had let fall many
 Expressions very indecent and unwarrantable, and in
 some of them confidently excused if not justified their
 first Entrance into Rebellion (the most barbarous certainly
 and inexcusable, that any Christians have been engaged
 in in any Age), irreconciled many to them who had
 Compassion enough for them, and made it impossible
 for the King to restrain their Adversaries, who were
 prepared to answer all They had said, from using the
 same License. They enlarged "upon all
 "the odious Circumstances of the first Year's Rebellion,
 "the murdering of above a hundred thousand
 "Persons in cold Blood, and with all the Barbarity
 "imaginable;

*The Answer
 of the Ad-
 venturers.*

"imaginable; which Murders and Barbarities had
 "been always excepted from Pardon." And They told
 them, "that if there were not some amongst them-
 "selves who then appeared before his Majesty, They
 "were sure there would be found many amongst
 "those for whom They appeared, who would be
 "found guilty of those odious Crimes, which were
 "excluded from any Benefit by those Treaties." They
 took Notice, "how confidently They had ex-
 "torted their own Innocence from the Time that
 "those two Acts of Pacification had passed, and their
 "great Affection for his Majesty's Service." And
 thereupon They declared, "that whatsoever legal
 "Title the *Adventurers* had to the Lands of which
 "They were possessed, many of whom had constantly
 "served the King; yet They would be contented,
 "that all those, who in Truth had preserved their
 "Integrity towards his Majesty from the Time of
 "either if not of Both the Pacifications, and not
 "swerved afterwards from their Allegiance, should
 "partake of his Royal Bounty, in such a Manner
 "and to such a Degree, as his Majesty thought
 "fit to exercise towards them. But" They said,
 "They would make it appear, that their Pretences
 "to that Grace and Favour were not founded
 "upon any reasonable Title; that They had never
 "consented to any one Act of Pacification, to which
 "the Promise of Indemnity had been annexed, which
 "They had not violated and broken within ten Days
 "after, and then returned to all the Acts of Disloyalty
 "and Rebellion."

"THAT after the first Act of Pacification ratified
 "by the last King, in very few Days, They treated
 "the Herald, his Majesty's Officer, who came to pro-
 "claim that Peace, with all Manner of Indignity,
 "tearing his Coat of Arms (the King's Arms) from
 "his Back; and beat and wounded him so, that He
 "was hardly rescued from the Loss of his Life.
 "That about the same Time They endeavoured to
 "surprise

“surprise and murder the Lord Lieutenant, and pursued him to *Dublin*, which They forthwith besieged with their Army; under the Command of that General who had signed the Peace. They imprisoned their Commissioners who were authorized by them, for consenting to those Articles which themselves had confirmed, and so prosecuted the War with as much Asperity as ever; and refused to give that Aid and Assistance They were obliged to, for the Recovery and Restoration of his late Majesty; the Promise and Expectation of which Supply and Assistance; was the sole Ground and Consideration of that Treaty, and of the Concessions therein made to them. That They thereupon more formally renounced their Obedience to the King, and put themselves under the Protection and Disposal of *Rinuccini* the Pope’s *Nuncio*, whom They made their Generalissimo of all their Armies, their Admiral at Sea, and to preside in all their Councils. After their Divisions amongst themselves, and the Burden of the Tyranny They suffered under, had disposed them to petition his Majesty that now is, who was then in *France*, to receive them into his Protection, and to send the Marquis of *Ormond* over again into *Ireland* to command them, his Majesty was so far prevailed with, that He sent the Marquis of *Ormond* into *Munster*, with such a Supply of Arms and Ammunition as He could get; where the Lord *Inchiquin*, Lord President of that Province, received him with the Protestant Army and joined with him: And shortly after, the *Confederate Irish* made that second Treaty of Pacification, of which They now demanded the Benefit. But it was notoriously known, that They no sooner made that Treaty than They brake it, in not bringing in those Supplies of Men and Money, which They ought and were obliged to do; the Want whereof exposed the Lord Lieutenant to many Difficulties, and was in Truth the Cause of
“the

“the Misfortune before *Dublin*: Which He had no
 “sooner undergone, than They withdrew from taking
 “any further Care of the Kingdom, and raised Scan-
 “dals upon and Jealousies of the whole Body of the
 “*English*, who, being so provoked, could no longer
 “venture themselves in any Action or Conjunction
 “with the *Irish*, without more Apprehension of them
 “than of the common Enemy.”

“INSTEAD of endeavouring to compose these
 “Jealousies and ill Humours, They caused an As-
 “sembly or Convocation of their Clergy to meet with-
 “out the Lord Lieutenant’s Authority, and put the Go-
 “vernment of all Things into their Hands: Who,
 “in a short Time, improved the Jealousies in the
 “Mind of the People towards the few *Protestants* who
 “yet remained in the Army, and who had served the
 “King with all imaginable Courage and Fidelity from
 “the very first Hour of the Rebellion, to that De-
 “gree, that the Marquis was even compelled to dis-
 “charge his own Troop of Guards of Horse, consist-
 “ing of such Officers and Gentlemen as are men-
 “tioned before, and to trust himself and all the re-
 “maining Towns and Garrisons to the Fidelity of the
 “*Irish*; They protesting with much Solemnity, that
 “upon such a Confidence, the whole Nation would
 “be united as one Man to his Majesty’s Service, un-
 “der his Command. But They had no sooner re-
 “ceived Satisfaction in that Particular (which was not
 “in the Marquis his Power to refuse to give them),
 “but They raised several Calumnies against his Per-
 “son, declaimed against his Religion, and inhibited
 “the People, upon Pain of Excommunication, to
 “submit to this and that Order that was issued out
 “by the Marquis, without obeying whereof the
 “Army could not stay together; and upon the Mat-
 “ter forbade the People to pay any Obedience to
 “him. Instead of raising new Forces according to
 “their last Promise and Engagement, those that were
 “raised ran from their Colours and dispersed them-
 “selves;

"selves; They who were trusted with the keeping of
 "Towns and Forts, either gave them up by Treachery
 "to *Cromwell*; or lost them through Cowardice to
 "him upon very feeble Attacks: And their General,
 "*Owen O Neile*, made a formal Contract and Stipu-
 "lation with the Parliament. And in the End, when
 "They had divested the Lord Lieutenant of all
 110) "Power to oppose the Enemy, and given him great
 "Cause to believe that his Person was in Danger to
 "be betrayed, and delivered up to the Enemy, They
 "vouchsafed to petition him that He would depart
 "out of the Kingdom (to the Necessity whereof They
 "had even already compelled him); and that He would
 "leave his Majesty's Authority in the Hands of one
 "of his Catholick Subjects, to whom They promised
 "to submit with the most punctual Obedience."

"HEREUPON the Marquis, when He found
 "that He could not unite them in any one Action
 "worthy the Duty of good Subjects, or of prudent
 "Men, towards their own Preservation; and so, that
 "his Residence amongst them longer could in no De-
 "gree contribute to his Majesty's Service or Honour;
 "and that They would make it to be believed, that
 "if He would have committed the Command into
 "the Hands of a *Roman Catholick*, They would have
 "been able to preserve those Towns which still re-
 "mained in their Possession, which were *Limerick* and
 "*Galloway*, and some other Places of Importance
 "enough, though of less than those Cities; and that
 "They would likewise by Degrees recover from the
 "Enemy what had been lost, which indeed was ve-
 "ry possible for them to have done, since They had
 "great Bodies of Men to perform any Enterprize, and
 "some good Officers to lead them, if They would
 "have been obedient to any Command: Hereupon
 "the Marquis resolved to gratify them, and to place
 "the Command in the Hands of such a Person,
 "whose Zeal for the Catholick Religion was unques-
 "tionable, and whose Fidelity to the King was un-
 "blemished.

The Continuation of the Life of

“blemished. And so He made Choice of the Marquis of *Clanrickard*, a Gentleman, though originally of *English* Extraction, whose Family had for so many hundred Years resided in that Kingdom that He was looked upon as being of the best Family of the *Irish*; and whose Family had, in all former Rebellions, as well as in this last, preserved its Loyalty to the Crown not only unpotted, but eminently conspicuous.”

“THE *Roman Catholics* of all Kinds pretended at least a wonderful Satisfaction and Joy in this Election; acknowledged it as a great Obligation upon them and their Posterity to the Lord Lieutenant for making so worthy a Choice; and applied themselves to the Marquis of *Clanrickard*, with all the Protections of Duty and Submission, to induce him to accept the Charge and Command over them who indeed knew them too well to be willing to trust them, or to have any Thing to do with them. Yet upon the Marquis of *Ormond's* earnest and solemn Intreaty, as the last and only Remedy to keep and retain some Remainder of Hope, from whence future Hopes might grow; whereas all other Thoughts were desperate, and the Kingdom would presently fall into the Hands and Possession of the *English*, who would extirpate the whole Nation. This Importunity, and his great Zeal for the Service of the Crown, and to support the Government there until his Majesty could procure other Supplies, which the Marquis of *Ormond* promised to solicit in *France*, or till his Majesty should send better Orders to preserve his Authority in that Kingdom (the Hope of which seemed the less desperate, because They had Notice at the same Time of his Majesty's March into *England*, with an Army from *Scotland*), prevailed with him so, that He was contented to receive such Commissions from the Lord Lieutenant, as were necessary for the Execution of the present Command. Upon which the Lord
“Lieu

“Lieutenant embarked himself, with some few Friends
 “and Servants, upon a little rotten Pink that was
 “bound for *France*, and very ill accommodated for
 (iii) “such a Voyage; being not to be persuaded to send
 “to the Commander in Chief of the *English* for a
 “Pass, though He was assured that it would very
 “readily have been granted: But it pleased God that
 “He arrived safely in *France*, a little before or about
 “the Time that the King transported himself thither,
 “after his miraculous Escape from *Worcester*.”

“The Marquis of *Ormond* was no sooner gone out
 “of *Ireland*, but the Lord Marquis of *Clanrickard*,
 “the Lord Deputy, found himself no better treated
 “than the Lord of *Ormond* had been. That Part
 “of the Clergy, which had continually opposed the
 “Lord Lieutenant for being a *Protestant*, were now
 “as little satisfied with the Deputy’s Religion, and as
 “violently contradicted all his Commands and De-
 “sires, and violated all their own Promises, and
 “quickly made it evident, that his Affection and
 “Loyalty to the King was that which They disliked,
 “and a Crime that could not be ballanced by the
 “undoubted Sincerity of his Religion. They entered
 “into secret Correspondence with the Enemy, and
 “Conspiracies between themselves: And though there
 “were some Persons of Honour and Quality with the
 “Deputy, who were very faithful to him and to the
 “King; yet there were so many of another Allay,
 “that all his Counsels, Resolutions and Designs, were
 “discovered to the Enemy, soon enough to be pre-
 “vented. And though some of the Letters were in-
 “tercepted, and the Persons discovered who gave the
 “Intelligence, He had not Power to bring them to
 “Justice; but being commonly Friars and Clergy-
 “men, the Privilege of the Church was insisted upon,
 “and so They were rescued from the secular Prosecu-
 “tion till their Escape was contrived. The perfid-
 “ious and treacherous Party had so great an In-
 “terest in all the Towns, Forts and Garrisons, which

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“yet pretended to be subject to the Deputy, that
 “all his Orders were still contradicted or neglected:
 “And the Enemy no sooner appeared before any
 “Place, but some Faction in the Town caused it to
 “be given up and rendered.”

“NOR could this fatal Sottishness be reformed,
 “even by the Severity and Rigour which the *English*
 “exercised upon them, who, by the wonderful Judg-
 “ment of God Almighty, always put those Men to
 “Death, who put themselves and those Towns into
 “their Hands; finding still that They had some bar-
 “barous Part in the foul Murders, which had been
 “committed in the Beginning of the Rebellion, and
 “who had been, by all the Acts of Grace granted by
 “the several Powers, still reserved for Justice. And
 “of this Kind there would be so many Instances in
 “and about *Limerick* and *Galloway*, that they deserve
 “to be collected and mentioned in a Discourse by
 “itself, to observe and magnify the wonderful Pro-
 “vidence of God Almighty in bringing heinous
 “Crimes to Light and Punishment in this World,
 “by Means unapprehended by the guilty: Infomuch
 “as it can hardly be believed, how many of the
 “Clergy and the Laity, who had a signal Hand in
 “the contriving and fomenting the first Rebellion,
 “and in the Perpetration of those horrible Murders;
 “and who had obstructed all Overtures toward Peace,
 “and principally caused any Peace that was made, to
 “be presently broken; who had with most Passion
 “adhered to the *Nuncio*, and endeavoured most ma-
 “liciously to exclude the King and his Posterity from
 “the Dominion of *Ireland*: I say, it can hardly be
 “believed, how many of these most notorious Trans-
 “gressors did by some Act of Treachery endea-
 “vour to merit from the *English* Rebels, and so put
 “themselves into their Hands, and were by them
 “publickly and reproachfully executed and put to
 “Death.”

“THIS

“THIS being the sad Condition the Deputy was
 “in; and the *Irish* having, without his Leave and
 “against his exprefs Command, taken upon them to
 “send Messengers into *Flanders*, to desire the Duke
 (111) “of *Lorraine* to take them into his Protection, and
 “offered to deliver several important Places and Sea-
 “Towns into his Possession, and to become his Sub-
 “jects, (upon which the Duke sent over an Ambassa-
 “dour, and a good Sum of Money for their present
 “Relief), the Deputy was in a short Time reduced to
 “those Streights, that He durst not remain in any
 “Town nor even in his own House three Days toge-
 “ther, but was forced for his Safety to shift from
 “Place to Place, and sometimes to lodge in the
 “Woods and Fields in cold and wet Nights; by
 “which He contracted those Infirmities and Diseases,
 “which shortly after brought him to his Grave. And
 “in the End, He was compelled to accept a Pass
 “from the *English*, who had a Reverence for his
 “Person and his unspotted Reputation, to transport
 “himself into *England*, where his Wife and Family
 “were; and where He died before He could procure
 “Means to carry himself to the King, which He al-
 “ways intended to do.”

WHEN the Commissioners had enlarged with some
 Commotion in this Narration and Discourse, They
 again provoked the *Irish* Commissioners to nominate
 “one Person amongst themselves, or of those for
 “whom They appeared, who They believed could
 “in Justice demand his Majesty’s Favour; and if
 “They did not make it evidently appear, that He
 “had forfeited all his Title to Pardon after the Treas-
 “uries, and that He had been again as faulty to the
 “King as before, They were very willing He should
 “be restored to his Estate.” And then applying
 themselves to his Majesty with great Duty and Sub-
 mission, They concluded; “that if any Persons had,
 “by their subsequent Loyalty or Service, or by their
 “Attendance upon his Majesty beyond the Seas, ren-
 “dered

Mary Catholicks who had served the King immediately restored.

“dered themselves grateful to him, and worthy of his Royal Favour, They were very willing that his Majesty should restore all or any of them to their Honours or Estates, in such Manner as his Majesty thought fit, and against all Impediments whatsoever.” And upon this frank Offer of theirs, which his Majesty took very well, several Acts of Parliament were presently passed, for the Indemnity and the restoring many Persons of Honour and Interest to their Estates; who could either in Justice require it, as having been faithful always to the King, and suffered with him or for him; or who had so far manifested their Affection and Duty for his Majesty, that He thought fit, in that Consideration, to wipe out the Memory of whatsoever had been formerly done amiss. And by this Means, many were put into a full Possession of their Estates, to which They could make any good Pretence at the Time when the Rebellion began.

THIS Consideration and Debate upon the Settlement of this unhappy Kingdom took up many Days, the King being always present, in which there arose every Day new Difficulties. And it appeared plainly enough, that the Guilt was so general, that if the Letter of the Act of Parliament of the seventeenth Year of the late King were strictly pursued, as possibly it might have been, if the Reduction had fallen out likewise during the whole Reign of that King, even an utter Extirpation of the Nation would have followed.

Three Particulars in this Affair which distress the King.

1. The Transplantation of the Irish into Connaught.

THERE were three Particulars, which, upon the first Mention and View of them, seemed in most Mens Eyes worthy of his Majesty's extraordinary Compassion and Interposition; and yet upon a stricter Examination were found as remediless as any of the rest. One was; “the Condition of that miserable People, which “was likewise very numerous, that was transplanted “into *Connaught*; who had been removed from their “own Possessions in other Provinces, with such Circumstances

“*cumstances of Tyranny and Cruelty, that their own*
 “*Consents obtained afterwards with that Force, could*
 “*not reasonably be thought any Confirmation of*
 “*their unjust Title, who were in Possession of their*
 “*Lands.*”

To this it was answered, “that though it was acted *The Adven-
surers De-
fence of this
Measure.*
 “in an irregular Manner, and without lawful Autho-
 “rity, it being in a Time of Usurpation; yet that
 “the Act itself was very prudent and necessary, and
 “an Act of Mercy, without which an utter Extir-
 “pation of the Nation must have followed, if the
 “Kingdom were to be preserved in Peace. That it
 “cannot be denied to be an Act of Mercy, since
 “there was not one Man transplanted, who had not
 “by the Law forfeited all the Estate He had; and
 “his Life might have been as legally taken from
 “him: So that both his Life, and whatever Estate
 “He had granted to him in *Conaught*, was from the
 “pure Bounty of the State, which might and did by
 “the Act of Parliament seize upon the same. That,
 “beside the unsteady Humour of that People, and
 “their natural Inclination to rebel, it was notorious,
 “that whilst They were dispersed over the Kingdom,
 “though all their Forces had been so totally subdued,
 “that there was not throughout the whole Kingdom
 “a visible Number of twenty Men together, who
 “pretended to be in Arms; yet there were daily such
 “Disorders committed by Thefts and Robberies and
 “Murders, that They could not be said to be in
 “Peace. Nor could the *English*, Man, Woman or
 “Child, go one Mile from their Habitations upon
 “their necessary Employment, but They were found
 “murdered and stripped by the *Irish*, who lay in Wait
 “for those Purposes; so that the People were very
 “hardly restrained from committing a Massacre upon
 “them wherever They were met: So that there ap-
 “peared no other Way to prevent an utter Extirpa-
 “tion of them, but to confine and restrain them with-
 “in such Limits and Bounds, that might keep them
 “from

"from doing Mischief, and thereby make them safe.
 "That thereupon this Expedient was laid Hold of.
 "And whereas They had Nothing to enable them to
 "live upon in the Places where They were dispersed,
 "They had now by this Transplantation into *Conaught*
 "Lands given them, sufficient with their Industry to
 "live well upon; of which there was good Evidence,
 "by their having lived well there since that Time,
 "and many of them much better than They had ever
 "done before. And the State, which had done this
 "Grace for them, had great Reason, when it gave
 "them good Titles to the Land assigned to them,
 "which They might plead in any Court of Justice,
 "to require from them Releases of what They had
 "forfeited; which, though to the Publick of no Use
 "or Validity, were of Benefit and behooveful to
 "many particular Persons, for the quieting their Pos-
 "sessions against frivolous Suits and Claims which
 "might start up. That this Transplantation had
 "been acted, finished, and submitted to by all Par-
 "ties, who had enjoyed the Benefit thereof, quiet-
 "ly and without Disturbance, many Years before the
 "King's Return: And the Soldiers and *Adventurers*
 "had been likewise so many Years in the Possession
 "of their Lots, in Pursuance of the Act of Parlia-
 "ment, and had laid out so much Money in building
 "and planting; that the Consequence of such an Al-
 "teration, as was now proposed, would be the highest
 "Confusion imaginable."

AND it cannot be denied, that if the King could
 have thought it safe and seasonable to have reviewed
 all that had been done, and taken those Advantages
 upon former Miscarriages and Misapplications, as ac-
 cording to the Strictness of that very Law He might
 have done; the whole Foundation, upon which all
 the Hopes rested of preserving that Kingdom within
 the Obedience to the Crown of *England*, must have
 been shaken and even dissolved; with no small In-
 fluence and Impression upon the Peace and Quiet of
England

14) *England* itself. For the Memory of the Beginning of the Rebellion in *Ireland* (how many other Rebellions soever had followed as bad, or worse in Respect of the Consequences that attended them) was as fresh and as odious to the whole People of *England*, as it had been the first Year. And though no Man durst avow so unchristian a Wish, as an Extirpation of them (which They would have been very well contented with); yet no Man dissembled his Opinion, that it was the only Security the *English* could have in that Kingdom, that the *Irish* should be kept so low, that They should have no Power to hurt them.

ANOTHER Particular, that seemed more against the Foundation of Justice, was; "that the Soldiers and *Adventurers* expected and promised themselves, "that in this new Settlement that was under Debate, "all Entails and Settlements at Law should be destroyed, whether upon Consideration of Marriage, "or any other Contracts which had been made before the Rebellion. Nor had there been in the "whole former Proceedings in the Time of the "Usurpation, any Consideration taken of Mortgages "or Debts due by Statute or Recognisance, or upon "any other Security; so that all such Debts must be "either lost to the Proprietors, or remain still with "the Interest upon the Land, whoever had enjoyed "the Benefit or Profits thereof." All which seemed to his Majesty very unreasonable and unjust; and that such Estates should remain forfeited by the Treason of the Father, who had been only Tenant for Life, against all Descents and legal Titles of innocent Children; and of which, in all legal Attainders, the Crown never had or could receive any Benefit.

YET, how unreasonable soever these Pretences seemed to be, it was no easy Matter to give Rules and Directions for the Remedy of the Mischief; without introducing another Mischief equally unjust and unreasonable. For the Commissioners declared, "that "if such Titles, as are mentioned, were preserved "and

2. *The Case of
Entails and
Settlements at
Law.*

*The Adventurers
Answer.*

“and allowed to be good, there would not in that
 “universal Guilt, which upon the Matter comprehended and covered the whole *Irish* Nation, be one
 “Estate forfeited by Treason, but such Conveyances
 “and Settlements would be produced to secure and
 “defend the same: And though they would be
 “forged, there would not be Witnesses wanting to
 “prove and justify whatsoever the Evidence could be
 “applied to. And if those Trials were to be by the
 “known Rules and Customs of the Law in Cases of
 “the like Nature, there was too much Reason to
 “suspect and fear that there would be little Justice
 “done: Since a Jury of *Irish* would infallibly find
 “against the *English*, let the Evidence be what it
 “could be; and there was too much Reason to apprehend that the *English*, whose Animosity was not
 “less, would be as unjust in bringing in their Verdict against the *Irish* right or wrong.” And there
 “was Experience afterwards, in the Prosecution of this
 “Affair, of such Forgeries and Perjuries, as have not
 “been heard of amongst Christians; and in which, to
 “our Shame, the *English* were not behindhand with the
 “*Irish*. The King however thought it not reasonable
 “or just for him, upon what probable Suggestions
 “ever, to countenance such a barefaced Violation of the
 “Law, by any Declaration of his; but commanded
 “his Council at Law, to make such Alterations in the
 “Expressions as might be fit for him to consent to.

3. The extreme Misery
 of the Irish.

THE third Particular, and which much affected
 the King, was; “that in this universal Joy for his
 “Restoration without Blood, and with the Indemnity
 “of so many hundred Thousands who had deserved
 “to suffer the utmost Punishments, the poor *Irish*,
 “after so long Sufferings in the greatest Extremity of
 “Misery, should be the only Persons who should find
 “no Benefit or Ease by his Majesty’s Restoration, but
 “remain robbed and spoiled of all They had, and be
 “as it were again sacrificed to the Avarice and Cruelty
 “of

"of them, who had not deserved better of his Majesty than the other poor People had done."

To which there can be no other Answer made, which is very sufficient in Point of Justice, but that, "as their Rebellion and other Crimes had been long before his Majesty's Time, so full Vengeance had been executed upon them; and They had paid the Penalties of their Crimes and Transgressions before his Majesty's Return: So that He could not restore that which They called their own, without taking it from them, who were become the just Owners by an Act of Parliament; which his Majesty could not violate without Injustice, and Breach of the Faith He had given." *Answer to this Plea.*

AND that which was their greatest Misery and Reproach, and which distinguished them from the Subjects of the other two Kingdoms, who were otherwise bad enough, was; that Both the other Nations had made many noble Attempts for redeeming their Liberty, and for the Restoration of his Majesty (for *Scotland* itself had done much towards it); and his present Restoration was, with God's Blessing and only with his Blessing, by the sole Effects of the Courage and Affection of his own Subjects: So that *England* and *Scotland* had in a great Degree redeemed, and even undone what had been before done amiss by them; and his Majesty had improved and secured those Affections to him by those Promises and Concessions, which He was in Justice obliged to perform. But the miserable *Irish* alone had no Part in contributing to his Majesty's Happiness; nor had God suffered them to be the least Instruments in bringing his good Pleasure to pass, or to give any Testimony of their Repentance for the Wickedness They had wrought, or of their Resolution to be better Subjects for the future: So that They seemed as a People left out by Providence, and exempted from any Benefit from that blessed Conjunction in his Majesty's Restitution.

AND

AND this Disadvantage was improved towards them, by their frequent Manifestation of an inveterate Animosity against the *English* Nation, and *English* Government; which again was returned to them in an irreconcilable Jealousy of all the *English* towards them. And to this their present Behaviour and Imprudence contributed very much: For it appeared evidently, that They expected the same Concessions (which the Necessity of that Time had made fit to be granted to them) in Respect of their Religion should be now likewise confirmed. And this Temper made it very necessary for the King to be very wary in dispensing extraordinary Favours (which his natural merciful Inclination prompted him to) to the *Irish*; and to prefer the general Interest of his three Kingdoms, before the particular Interest of a Company of unhappy Men, who had foolishly forfeited their own; though He pitied them, and hoped in the Conclusion to be able, without exposing the publick Peace to manifest Hazard, in some Degree to improve their Condition.

The first Act
of Settlement
pass'd.

UPON the whole Matter, the King found, that if He deferred to settle the Government of *Ireland* till a perfect Settlement of all particular Interests could be made, it would be very long. He saw it could not be done at once; and that there must be some Examinations taken there, and some Matters more clearly stated and adjusted, before his Majesty could make his Determination upon those Particulars, which purely depended upon his own Judgment; and that some Difficulties would be removed or lessened by Time. And so He pass'd that which is called *The first Act of Settlement*; and was persuaded to commit the Execution thereof, to a great Number of Commissioners recommended to his Majesty by those who were most conversant in the Affairs of *Ireland*; none or very few of which were known to his Majesty, or to any of those who had been so many Years from their Country in their constant Attendance upon his Majesty's Person beyond the Seas.

AND for the better Countenance of this Commission, and likewise to restrain the Commissioners from any Excess, if their very large Jurisdiction should prove a Temptation to them, the King thought fit to commit the Sword to three Justices, which He had resolved, when the sending the Lord Roberts was declined. Those three were, Sir *Morrice Eustace*, whom He newly made Lord Chancellor of *Ireland*, the Lord *Brogbill*, whom He now made Earl of *Orery*, and Sir *Charles Coote*, whom He likewise made Earl of *Montrath*. The first had been his Sergeant at Law long in that Kingdom, and had been eminent in the Profession of the Law, and the more esteemed for being always a *Protestant* though an *Irishman*, and of approved Fidelity to the King during this whole Rebellion. But He was now old, and made so little Shew of any Parts extraordinary, that, but for the Testimony that was given of him, it might have been doubted whether He ever had any. The other two had been Both eminently against the King, but upon this Turn, when all other Powers were down, eminently for him; the one, very able and generous; the other, proud, dull and very avaricious. But the King had not then Power to choose any, against whom some as material Objections might not be made, and who had been able to do as much Good. With them, there were too many others upon whom Honours were conferred; upon some, that They might do no Harm, who were thereby enabled to do the more; and upon others, that They might not murmur, who murmured the more for having Nothing given them but Honour: And so They were all dispatched for *Ireland*; by which the King had some Ease, his Service little Advancement.

AFTER a Year was spent in the Execution of this Commission (for I shall, without discontinuing the Relation, say all that I intend upon this Subject of *Ireland*), there was very little done towards the settling the Kingdom, or towards preparing any Thing that might

*Partiality of
the Commis-
sioners appointed
by the First
Act.*

might settle it; but on the contrary, the Breaches were made wider, and so much Passion and Injustice shewed, that Complaints were brought to his Majesty from all Parts of the Kingdom, and from all Persons in Authority there. The Number of the Commissioners was so great, and their Interests so different, that They made no Dispatch. Very many of them were in Possession of those Lands, which others sued for before them; and They themselves bought broken Titles and Pretences of other Men, for inconsiderable Sums of Money, which They supported and made good by their own Authority. Such of the Commissioners, who had their own particular Interest and Concernment depending, attended the Service very diligently: The few who were more equal and just, because They had no Interest of their own at Stake, were weary of their Attendance and Expence (there being no Allowance for their Pains); and offended at the Partiality and Injustice which They saw practised, withdrew themselves, and would be no longer present at those Transactions which They could not regulate or reform.

*Second Act
of Settlement
transmitted to
the King.*

ALL Interests were equally offended and incensed; and the Soldiers and *Adventurers* complained no less of the Corruption and Injustice than the *Irish* did: So that the Lords Justices and Council thought it necessary to transmit another Bill to his Majesty,⁽¹⁾ which, as I remember, They called an explanatory Bill of the former; and in that They provided, “that
“no Person who lived in *Ireland*, or had any Pre-
“tence to an Estate there, should be employed as a
“Commissioner; but that his Majesty should be de-
“fired to send over a competent Number of well
“qualified Persons out of *England* to attend that Ser-
“vice, upon whom a fit Salary should be settled by
“the Bill; and such Rules set down as might direct
“and govern the Manner of their Proceeding; and
“that an Oath might be prescribed by the Bill, which
“the Commissioners should take, for the impartial

“Administration of Justice, and for the Prosecution
 “and Execution of this Bill,” which was transmitted
 as an Act by the King. His Majesty made Choice
 of seven Gentlemen of very clear Reputations; one New Commis-
 sioners ap-
 pointed to exe-
 cute it.
 of them being an eminent Sergeant at Law, whom
 He made a Judge upon his Return from thence;
 two others, Lawyers of very much Esteem; and the
 other four, Gentlemen of very good Extractions, ex-
 cellent Understandings, and above all Suspicion for
 their Integrity, and generally reputed to be superiour
 to any base Temptation.

BUT this second Bill, before it could be transmit-
 ted, took up as much Time as the former. The
 same numerous Retinue of all Interests from *Ireland*
 attended the King; and all that had been said in the The different
 Parties again
 heard by the
 King.
 former Debates was again repeated, and almost with
 the same Passion and Impertinence. The *Irish* made
 large Observations upon the Proceedings of the late
 Commissioners, to justify those Fears and Appre-
 hensions which They had formerly urged: And there
 appeared too much Reason to believe, that their
 greatest Design now was, rather to keep off any Set-
 tlement, than that They hoped to procure such a one
 as They desired; relying more to find their Account
 from a general Dissatisfaction, and the Distraction and
 Confusion that was like to attend it, than from any
 Determination that was like to be in their Favour.
 Yet They had Friends in the Court, who made them
 great Promises; which They could not be without,
 since They made great Promises to those who were
 to protect them. There were indeed many particular
 Men both of the Soldiers and *Adventurers*, who in
 Respect of their many notorious and opprobrious
 Actions against the Crown throughout their whole
 Employment (and who even since his Majesty’s Re-
 turn had enough expressed how little They were satis-
 fied with the Revolution) were so universally odious
 both in *England* and *Ireland*, that if their particular
 Cases could have been severed from the rest, without
 Viola-

The Continuation of the Life of

Violation of the Rule of Justice that secured all the rest, any Thing that could have been done to their Detriment would have been grateful enough to every Body.

AFTER many very tedious Debates, in which his Majesty endeavoured by all the Ways He could think of to find some Expedient, that would enable him to preserve the miserable *Irish* from the Extremity of Misery; He found it necessary at last, to acquiesce with a very positive Assurance from the Earl of *Orrery* and others, who were believed to understand *Ireland* very exactly, and who, upon the Surveys that had been taken with great Punctuality, undertook, "that there was Land enough to satisfy all the Soldiers and *Adventurers*, and that there would be a very great Proportion left for the Accommodation of the *Irish* very liberally." And for the better Improvement of that Proportion, the King prescribed some Rules and Limitations to the immoderate Pretences and Demands of the Soldiers and *Adventurers* upon the *doubling Ordinance* and imperfect Admeasurement and some other Irregularities, in which his Majesty was not in Honour or Justice obliged to comply with them: And so He transmitted this second Bill.

Second Act
of Settlement
passed.

WHILST this second Bill was under Deliberation, there fell out an Accident in *Ireland*, which produced great Alterations with Reference to the Affairs of that Kingdom. The Differences which had every Day arisen between the three Justices, and their different Humours and Affections, had little advanced the settling that Government; so that there would have been a Necessity of making some Mutation in it: So that the Death of the Earl of *Montrath*, which happened at this Time, fell out conveniently enough to the King; for by it the Government was again loose. For the Earl of *Orrery* was in *England*; and the Power resided not in less than two: So that the Chancellor, who remained single there, was without any Authority

nity to act. And They who took the most dispassioned Survey of all that had been done, and of what remained to be done, did conclude that Nothing could reasonably produce a Settlement there, but the deputing one single Person to exercise that Government. And the Duke of *Albemarle* himself, The Duke of Albemarle resigns the Office of Lord Lieutenant. who had a great Estate in that Kingdom, which made him the more long for a Settlement, and who had before the King's Return and ever since dissuaded the King from thinking of employing the Duke of *Ormond* there, who had himself Aversion enough from that Command, of which He had sufficient Experience: I say, the General had now so totally changed his Mind, that He plainly told the King, "that there was no Way to explicate that Kingdom out of those Intricacies in which it was involved, but by sending over a Lord Lieutenant thither. That He thought it not fit for his Majesty's Service, that himself, who had that Commission of Lord Lieutenant, should be absent from his Person; and therefore that He was very ready and desirous to give up his Commission: And that in his Judgment Nobody would be able to settle and compose the several Factions in that Kingdom, but the Duke of *Ormond*, who He believed would be grateful to all Sorts of People." And therefore He advised his Majesty very positively, "that He would immediately give him the Commission, and as soon as should be possible send him away into *Ireland*."

And Both the King and the General spake with the Duke of *Ormond*, and prevailed with him to accept And the Duke of Ormond accepts it. it, before either of them communicated it to the Chancellor, who the King well knew would for many Reasons, and out of his great Friendship to the Duke, dissuade him from undertaking it; which was very true.

AND, the King and the Duke of *Ormond* came one Day to the Chancellor, to advise what was to be done for *Ireland*; and (concealing the Resolution) the King told him what the General's Advice was, and asked

asked him "what He thought of sending the Duke
 "of Ormond his Lieutenant into Ireland." To which
 the Chancellor answered presently, "that the King
 "would do very ill in sending him, and that the Duke
 "would do much worse, if He desired to go." Up-
 on which They Both smiled, and told him, "that
 "the General had prevailed with the King, and the
 "King with the Duke; so that the Matter was re-
 "solved, and there remained Nothing to be done
 "but preparing the Instructions, which He must
 "think upon."

*The Chancel-
 lor expresses
 his Concern at
 this.*

THE Chancellor could not refrain from saying
 very warmly, "that He was sorry for it; and that
 "it would be good for neither of them, that the
 "Duke should be from the King, or that He should
 "be in Ireland, where He would be able to do no
 "Good. Besides that He had given himself so much
 "to his Ease and Pleasure since He came into Eng-
 "land, that He would never be able to take the
 "Pains, which that most laborious Province would
 "require." He said, "if this Counsel had been
 "taken when the King came first over, it might
 "have had good Success, when the Duke was full of
 "Reputation, and of unquestionable Interest in his
 "Majesty, and the King himself was more feared and
 "reverenced than presumed upon: So that the Duke
 "would have had full Authority to have restrained
 "the exorbitant Desires and Expectations of all the
 "several Parties, who had all Guilt enough upon
 "their Hearts to fear some Rigour from the King,
 "or to receive moderate Grace with infinite Sub-
 "mission and Acknowledgment. But now the Duke,
 "besides his withdrawing himself from all Business
 "as much as He could, had let himself fall to Fa-
 "miliarities with all Degrees of Men; and upon
 "their Averments had undertaken to protect or at
 "least to solicit Mens Interests, which it may be
 "might not appear upon Examination to be founded
 "upon Justice. And the King himself had been ex-
 "posed

“posed to all Manner of Importunities, received all
 “Mens Addresses, and heard all They would say,
 “made many Promises without Deliberation, and ap-
 “peared so desirous to satisfy all Men, that He was
 “irresolute in all Things. And therefore till He had
 “taken some firm and fixed Resolutions himself,
 “from which neither Prejudice towards one Man,
 “nor Pity and Compassion on the Behalf of another,
 “should remove him; the Lieutenant of *Ireland* would
 “be able to do him little Service, and would be him-
 “self continually exposed to Scorn and Affronts.”

AND afterwards the Chancellor expostulated warmly with the Duke of *Ormond* (who well knew, that all his Commotion proceeded from the Integrity of his unquestionable Friendship), and told him “that He
 “would repent this rash Resolution; and that He
 “would have been able to have contributed more to
 “the Settlement of *Ireland*, by being near the Person
 “of the King, than by being at *Dublin*, from whence
 “in a short Time there would be as many Aspersions
 “and Reproaches sent hither, as had been against
 “other Men; and that He had no Reason to be con-
 “fident, that they would not make as deep Impression
 “by the Arts and Industry of his Enemies, of which
 “He had Store, and would have more by being ab-
 “sent, for the Court naturally had little Regard for
 “any Man who was absent. And that He carried
 “with him the same Infirmary into *Ireland* with that
 “of the King, which kept it from being settled here;
 “which was an Unwillingness to deny any Man what
 “He could not but see was impossible to grant, and a
 “Desire to please every Body, which whosoever affect-
 “ed should please Nobody.”

THE Duke, who never took any Thing ill He
 said to him, told him, “that Nobody knew better
 “than He the Aversion He had to that Command,
 “when it may be He might have undertaken it with
 “more Advantage.” He confessed, “He saw many
 “Dangers with Reference to himself, which He knew

*The Duke ac-
 quainted the
 Chancellor
 with his Rea-
 sons for ac-
 cepting it.*

“not how to avoid, and many Difficulties with Reference to the Publick, which He had little Hope to overcome; yet *Ireland* must not be given over: And since there seemed to be a general Opinion, with which the King concurred, that He could be able to contribute to the composing the Distempers, and the settling the Government; He would not suspect himself, but believe that He might be able to do somewhat towards it.” And He gave his Word to him, “that Nothing should be defective on his Part in Point of Industry; for He was resolved to take indefatigable Pains for a Year or two, in which He hoped the Settlement would be completed, that He might have Ease and Recreation for the other Part of his Life.” And He confessed, “that He did the more willingly enter upon that Province, that He might have the Opportunity to settle his own Fortune, which how great soever in Extent of Lands did not yet, by Reason of the general Unsettlement, yield him a Quarter of the Revenue it ought to do. That for what concerned himself, and the Disadvantages He might undergo by his Absence, He referred it to Providence and the King’s good Nature; who,” He said, “knew him better than any of his Enemies did; and therefore, He hoped, He would believe himself before them.” However, the Truth is, He was the more disposed to that Journey, by the Dislike He had of the Court, and the necessary Exercises which Men there were to excel in, for which He was superannuated: And if He did not already discern any Lessening of the King’s Grace towards him, He saw enough to make him believe, that the contrary ought not to be depended upon. And within few Years after, He had Cause to remember what the Chancellor had foretold him of Both their Fortunes. The Duke (with the seven Commissioners who were appointed for that *Act of Settlement*, and all other Persons who attended that Interest) entered upon his Journey

The Duke and the Commissioners set out for Ireland.

Journey from *London* about the End of *July*, in the Year one thousand six hundred sixty and four, full four Years and more after the King's happy Return into *England*.

IT was some Months after the Commissioners Arrival in *Ireland*, before They could settle those Orders and Rules for their Proceedings, which were necessary to be done, before the People should be appointed to attend. And it was necessary, that They should in the Order of their Judicatory first proceed upon the Demands and Pretences of the *Irish*; both because there could be no Settlement of Soldiers or *Adventurers* in Possession of any Lands, before the Titles of the *Irish* to those Lands were determined; and because there was a Clause in the last Act of Parliament, that all the *Irish* should put in their Claims by a Day appointed, and that they should be determined before another Day, which was likewise assigned; which Days might be prolonged for once by the Lord Lieutenant, upon such Reasons as satisfied him; So that the Delay for so many Months before the Commissioners came, gave great Argument of Complaint to the *Irish*, though it could not be avoided, in Regard that the Commissioners themselves had not been nominated by the King above twenty Days before They began their Journey into *Ireland*; so that They could never so much as read over the Acts of Parliament together, before They came to *Dublin*. And then They found so many difficult Clauses in Both Acts of Parliament, and so contrary to each other, that it was no easy Matter to determine how to govern themselves in Point of Right, and to reduce themselves to any Method in their Proceedings.

BUT after They had adjusted all Things as well as They could, They published their Orders in what Method They meant to proceed, and appointed the *Irish* to put in their Claims by such a Day, and to attend the Prosecution of them accordingly. And They had no sooner entered upon their Work, but

*The Commis-
sioners publish
their intended
Method of
proceeding.*

the *Engliſh* thought They had began it ſoon enough. For They heard every Day many of the *Iriſh*, who had been known to have been the moſt forward in the firſt Beginning of the Rebellion, and the moſt malicious in the carrying it on, declared innocent; and Deeds of Settlement and Entails which had been never heard of before, and which would have been produced (as might reaſonably be believed) before the former Commiſſioners, if They had had them to produce, now declared to be good and valid; by which the *Iriſh* were immediately put into the Poſſeſſion of a very great Quantity of Land taken from the *Engliſh*: So that in a ſhort Time the Commiſſioners had rendered themſelves as generally odious as the *Iriſh*, and were looked upon as Perſons corrupted for that Intereſt, which had every Day Succeſs almoſt in whatſoever⁽¹¹⁾ They pretended. And their Determinations happened to have the more of Prejudice upon them, becauſe the Commiſſioners were always divided in their Judgments. And it is no Wonder, that They who ſeemed moſt to adhere to the *Engliſh* Intereſt were moſt eſteemed by them.

THE Parliament in *Ireland* was then ſitting: And the Houſe of Commons, conſiſting of many Members who were either Soldiers or *Adventurers*, or had the like Intereſt, was very much offended at the Proceedings of the Commiſſioners, made many Votes againſt them, and threatened them with their Authority and Jurisdiction. But the Commiſſioners, who knew their own Power, and that there was no Appeal againſt their Judgments, proceeded ſtill in their own Method, and continued to receive the Claims of the *Iriſh*, beyond the Time that the Act of Parliament or the Act of State limited to them, as was generally underſtood. And during the laſt eight or ten Days Sitting upon thoſe Claims, They paſſed more Judgments and Determinations than in near a Year before, indeed with very wonderful Expedition; when the *Engliſh* who were diſpoſſeſſed by thoſe Judgments
had

had not their Witnesses ready, upon a Presumption; that in Point of Time it was not possible for those Causes to come to be heard. By these Sentences and Decrees, many hundred Thousands of Acres were adjudged to the *Irish*, which had been looked upon as unquestionably forfeited, and of which the *English* had been long in Possession accordingly.

THIS raised so great a Clamour, that the *English* refused to yield Possession upon the Decrees of the Commissioners, who, by an Omission in the Act of Parliament, were not qualified with Power enough to provide for the Execution of their own Sentences. The Courts of Law established in that Kingdom would not, nor indeed could, give any Assistance to the Commissioners. And the Lord Lieutenant and Council, who had in the Beginning, by their Authority, put many into the Possession of the Lands which had been decreed to them by the Commissioners, were now more tender and reserved in that Multitude of Decrees that had lately passed: So that the *Irish* were using their utmost Endeavours, by Force to recover the Possession of those Lands which the Commissioners had decreed to them; whilst the *English* were likewise resolved by Force to defend what They had been so long possessed of, notwithstanding the Commissioners Determination. And the Commissioners were so far troubled and dissatisfied with these Proceedings, and with some intricate Clauses in the Act of Parliament concerning the future Proceedings; that, though They had not yet made any Entrance upon the Decision of the Claims of the *English* or of the *Irish Protestants*, They declared "that They would proceed no farther in the Execution of their Commission, until They could receive his Majesty's farther Pleasure." And that They might the more effectually receive it, They desired Leave from the King that They might attend his Royal Person; and there being at the same Time several Complaints made against them to his Majesty, and Appeals to him

*The different
Parties heard
a third Time
by the King.*

him from their Decrees, He gave the Commissioners Leave to return. And at the same Time all the other Interests sent their Deputies to solicit their Rights; in the Prosecution whereof, after much Time spent, the King thought fit likewise to receive the Advice and Assistance of his Lieutenant: And so the Duke of Ormond returned again to the Court. And the Settlement of *Ireland* was the third Time brought before the King and Council; there being then likewise transmitted a third Bill, as additional and supplemental to the other two, and to reverse many of the Decrees made by the Commissioners, They bearing the Reproach of all that had been done or had succeeded⁽¹²⁾ amiss, and from all Persons who were grieved in what Kind soever.

THE King was very tender of the Reputation of his Commissioners, who had been always esteemed Men of great Probity and unquestionable Reputation: And though He could not refuse to receive Complaints, yet He gave those who complained no farther Countenance, than to give the others Opportunity to vindicate themselves. Nor did there appear the least Evidence to question the Sincerity of their Proceeding, or to make them liable to any reasonable Suspicion of Corruption; And the Complaints were still prosecuted by those, who had that taken from them which They desired to keep for themselves.

*The Author's
Reflections on
the Proceed-
ings of the
Commissioners.*

THE Truth is; there is Reason enough to believe, that upon the first Arrival of the Commissioners in *Ireland*, and some Conversation They had, and the Observation They made of the great Bitterness and Animosities from the *English*, both Soldiers and *Adventurers*, towards the whole *Irish* Nation of what Kind soever; the scandalous Proceeding of the late Commissioners upon the first Act, when They had not been guided by any Rules of Justice, but rejected all Evidence, which might operate to the taking away any Thing from them which They resolved to keep, the Judges themselves being both Parties and

Witnesses in all the Causes brought before them; together with the very ill Reputation very many of the Soldiers and *Adventurers* had for extraordinary Malice to the Crown, and to the Royal Family; and the notable Barbarity They had exercised towards the *Irish*, who without Doubt for many Years had undergone the most cruel Oppressions of all Kinds that can be imagined, many Thousands of them having been forced, without being covered under any House, to perish in the open Fields for Hunger; the infamous Purchases which had been made by many Persons, who had compelled the *Irish* to sell their Remainders and lawful Pretences for very inconsiderable Sums of Money: I say, these and many other Particulars of this Kind, together with some Attempt that had been made upon their first Arrival, to corrupt them against all Pretences which should be made by the *Irish*, might probably dispose the Commissioners themselves to such a Prejudice against many of the *English*, and to such a Compassion towards the *Irish*, that They might be much inclined to favour their Pretences and Claims; and to believe that the Peace of the Kingdom and his Majesty's Government might be better provided for, by their being settled in the Lands of which They had been formerly possessed, than by supporting the ill gotten Titles of those, who had manifested all imaginable Infidelity and Malice against his Majesty whilst They had any Power to oppose him, and had not given any Testimony of their Conversion, or of their Resolution to yield him for the future a perfect and entire Obedience after They could oppose him no longer; as if They desired only to retain those Lands which They had gotten by Rebellion, together with the Principles by which They had gotten them, until They should have an Opportunity to justify Both by some new Power, or a Concurrence amongst themselves. Whencesoever it proceeded, it was plain enough the *Irish* had received more Favour than was expected or imagined.

AND in the very Entrance into the Work, to avoid the Partiality which was too apparent in the *Engliſh* towards each other, and their Animosity againſt the *Iriſh* as evident, very ſtrict Rules had been ſet down by the Commiſſioners, what Kind of Evidence They would admit to be good, and receive accordingly. And it was provided, “that the Evidence of “no Soldier or *Adventurer* ſhould be received in any “Caſe, to which himſelf was never ſo much a “Stranger;” as, if his own Lot had fallen in *Mun-*⁽¹²⁾
ſter, and He had no Pretence to any Thing out of that Province, his Evidence ſhould not be received, as to any Thing that He had ſeen done in *Leinſter* or *Conaught* or *Ulſter*, wherein He was not at all concerned: Which was generally thought to be a very unjuſt Rule, after ſo many Years expired, and ſo many Perſons dead, who had likewise been preſent at thoſe Actions. And by this Means many Men were declared not to have been in Rebellion, when there might have been full Evidence, that They had been preſent in ſuch and ſuch a Battle, and in ſuch and ſuch a Siege, if the Witneſſes might have been received who were then preſent at thoſe Actions, and ready to give Teſtimony of it, and of ſuch Circumſtances as could not have been feigned, if their Evidence might have been received.

*Too many of
 the Iriſh Re-
 bels reſtored to
 their Eſtates.*

THAT which raiſed the greateſt Umbrage againſt the Commiſſioners was, that a great Number of the moſt infamous Perſons of the *Iriſh* Nation, who were looked upon by thoſe of their own Country with the greateſt Detestation, as Men who had been the moſt violent Fomenters and Proſecutors of the Rebellion, and the greateſt Oppoſers of all moderate Counſels, and of all Expedients which might have contributed towards a Peace in the late King's Time (whereby the Nation might have been redeemed), and who had not had the Confidence ſo much as to offer any Claim before the late Commiſſioners, were now adjudged and declared innocent, and ſo reſtored to their Eſtates:

And

And that many other, who in Truth had never been in Rebellion, but notoriously served the King against the Rebels both in *England* and *Ireland*, and had never been put out of their Estates, now upon some slight Evidence, by the Interception of Letters, or Confession of Messengers that They had had Correspondence with the Rebels (though it was evident that even that Correspondence had been perfunctory, and only to secure them that They might pursue his Majesty's Service), were condemned, and had their Estates taken from them, by the Judgment of the Commissioners.

*Many who
had served
the King very
hardly treated.*

AND of this I cannot forbear to give an Instance, and the rather, that it may appear how much a personal Prejudice, upon what Account soever, weighs and prevails against Justice itself, even with Men who are not in their Natures Friends to Injustice. It was the Case of the Earl of *Tyrconnell*, and it was this. He was the younger Son of the Lord *Fitzwilliams* a Catholick Lord in *Ireland*, but of ancient *English* Extraction, of a fair Estate, and never suspected to be inclined to the Rebels; as very few of the *English* were. *Oliver Fitzwilliams* (who was the Person We are now speaking of, and the younger Son of that Lord *Fitzwilliams*) had been sent by his Father into *France*, to be there educated, many Years before the Rebellion. He was a proper and a handsome Man, and by his Courage had gotten a very good Reputation in the *French* Army; where, after He had spent some Years in the *Campagna*, He obtained the Command of a Regiment in which He had been first a Captain, and was looked upon generally as an excellent Officer.

*An Instance
of this in the
Case of the
Earl of Tyr-
connell.*

WHEN the Army was sent into Winter-Quarters, He went to *Paris* to kiss the Hands of the Queen of *England*, who was come thither the Summer before, it being in the Year 1644. Having often waited upon her Majesty, He made many Professions of Duty and Obedience to the King, and much con-

demned

demned the Rebellion of the *Irish*, and said, "He knew many of them were cozened and deceived by Tales and Lies, and had no Purpose to withdraw themselves from his Majesty's Obedience." He made Offer of his Service to the Queen, "and that, if She thought He might be able to do the King⁽¹²⁾ any Service, He would immediately go into *England*, and with his Majesty's Approbation into *Ireland*, where if He could do no other Service, He was confident He could draw off many of the *Irish* from the Service of the Rebels." The Queen, upon the good Reputation He had there, accepted his Offer, and writ a Letter by him to the King, with a very good Character of his Person, and as very fit to be trusted in *Ireland*.

It was his Fortune to come to the King very few Days before the Battle of *Naseby*, where as a Volunteer in the Troop of Prince *Rupert*, He behaved himself with very signal Courage in the View of the King himself; who shortly after gave him a Letter full of Recommendation and Testimony to the Marquis of *Ormond* his Lieutenant of *Ireland*, who received him kindly, and having conferred with him at large, and understood all He intended to do, gave him Leave to go into the *Irish* Quarters and to return again, as He thought fit. And in a short Time after, both his Father and his elder Brother died; whereby both the Title and the Estate devolved to him, and He was possessed accordingly.

THE Man was before and in his Nature elate and proud enough, had a greater Value of himself than other Men had, and a less of other Men than They deserved, whereby He got not himself beloved by many; but Nobody who loved him worst ever suspected him to incline to the Rebels, though They knew that He was often in their Quarters, and had often Conferences with them: And a good Part of his Estate lay in their Quarters. He attended upon the Lord Lieutenant in all his Expeditions: And
when

when the *Irish* so infamously broke the first Peace, and besieged the Lieutenant in *Dublin* (upon which He was compelled to deliver it into the Hands of the Parliament with the King's Consent), the Lord *Fitzwilliams* returned with him or about the same Time into *England*, and from thence again into *France*; where He married the Daughter of the Widow Countess of *Clare*, and Sister to that Earl, a Lady of a Religion the most opposite to the Roman Catholick, which He suffered her to enjoy without any Contradiction. When the War was at an End in *England*, and the King a Prisoner, He with his Wife and Family transported himself into *England*, and after some Time into *Ireland*; where *Cromwell* had a jealous Eye upon him, but not being able to discover any Thing against him, could not hinder him from possessing the Estate that had descended to him from his Father and his elder Brother. And the War being there ended, and the Settlement made by the Act of Parliament upon the Statute, as hath been mentioned before, there was not the least Trouble given to him; but He quietly enjoyed the Possession of his whole Estate till the King's Return, when He came into *England* to kiss his Majesty's Hand, and was by him made Eard of *Tyrconnell*.

WHEN the Commissioners sate upon the first Act, who observed no Rules of Justice, Law or Equity, when they contradicted any Interest or Appetite of their own, He received no Disturbance; but when these new Commissioners came over, all Men, as well *Protestants* as others, whose Estates had never been questioned, thought it safest for them to put in their Claims before the Commissioners, to prevent any Trouble that might arise hereafter. This Gentleman followed that Advice and Example, put in his Claim, and pressed the Commissioners for a short Day to be heard. The Day was appointed. Neither *Adventurer*, Soldier, or any other Person, made any Title to the Land: But some envious Person, unqualified for any Pro-

Prosecution, offered a Letter to the Commissioners which had many Years before, and before his coming into *Ireland*, been written by Colonel *Fitzwilliams* in *Paris* to a *Jesuit*, one *Hartogan*, then in *Ireland*; in which He gave him Notice “of his Purpose of coming into *Ireland*, where He hoped to do their Friends “some Service.”

THIS Letter was writ when the Queen first designed to send him to the King, that the *Irish*, who were the most jealous People in the World, might know of his Purpose to come thither, before They should hear of his being in *Dublin*; and now being produced before the Commissioners, without considering how long since it was writ or the Reason of writing it, that He had served the King, and never in the least Degree against him, upon one of their Rules, “that “a Correspondence with the Rebels was a good Evidence,” They without any Pause declared him innocent, and presently assigned his Estate to some Persons to whom Reprisals were to be made: Whilst They who thought the Judgment very unjust, laughed at the ill Luck of a Man whom They did not love; and all Men were well enough pleased with the Sentence, who were displeased with the Person. And this Party pursued him so severely into *England*, that the King’s Interposition to redeem him from so unjust a Decree, was looked upon as overfavouring the *Irish*; when none were so glad of the Decree as the *Irish*, who universally hated him. Nor was He at last restored to the Possession of his Estate, without making some Composition with those to whom the Commissioners had assigned it.

Many Decrees
made upon
Settlements
notoriously
forged.

MANY, who had formerly made their Claims without insisting upon any Deeds of Settlement or other Conveyances in Law, now produced former Settlements in Consideration of Marriage, or other like good Considerations in Law, made before the Beginning of the Rebellion: Which being now proved by Witnesses enough, Decrees were every Day obtained
for

for the Restitution of great Quantities of Land upon those Deeds and Conveyances; though the Forgeries of those Deeds and Perjury of those Witnesses were very notorious. And some Instances were given of the Manifestation and direct Proof that was made of the Forgery of Deeds, upon which Decrees had been made, to the Satisfaction of the Commissioners themselves, within a very short Time after the pronouncing those Decrees: And yet no Reparation was given, but the Decrees proceeded and were executed with all Rigour, as if no such Thing had appeared.

THE Commissioners answered, "that They had made no Decrees but according to their Consciences; ^{*The Commissioners Deserve.*} and such as They were obliged to make by the Course and Rule of Justice. That They did doubt and in Truth believe, that there had been evil Practices used both in the forging of Deeds and corrupting of Witnesses, and that the same was equally practised by the *English* as the *Irish*: And therefore that They had been obliged to make that Order, which had been so much excepted against, *not to admit the Testimony of any English Adventurer or Soldier in the Case of another Adventurer or Soldier*; for that it was very notorious, They looked upon the Whole as one joint Interest, and so gratified each other in their Testimonies." And of this They gave many sad Instances, by which it was too evident that the Perjuries were mutual, and too much practised by one and the other Side.

"THAT They had used all the Providence and Vigilance They could, by the careful Examination of Witnesses (which were produced apart, and never in the Presence of each other), and by asking them all such material Questions as occurred to their Understandings, and which They could not expect to be asked, to discover the Truth, and to prevent and manifest all Perjuries. That They had likewise used their utmost Diligence and Care, to prevent their being imposed upon with false and
"forged

“forged Deeds and Conveyances, by taking a precise
 “and strict View themselves of all Deeds produced;
 “and interrogated the Witnesses with all the Cunning
 “They could, upon the Matter and Consideration
 “upon which such Deeds had been entered into, and
 “upon the Manner and Circumstances in the Execu-
 “tion thereof: Which was all the Providence They
 “could use. And though They met with many Rea-
 “sons oftentimes to doubt the Integrity of the Pro-
 “ceedings, and in their own private Consciences to
 “apprehend there might be great Corruption; yet
 “that They were obliged judicially to determine ac-
 “cording to the Testimony of the Witnesses, and the
 “Evidence of those Deeds in Law against which no
 “Proofs were made. That They had constantly
 “heard all that the adverse Party had thought fit to
 “object, both against the Credit of any Witnesses,
 “and the Truth and Validity of any Conveyances
 “which were produced; upon which They had re-
 “jected many Witnesses, and disallowed some Con-
 “veyances: But when the Objections were only
 “founded upon Presumptions and Probabilities, as
 “most usually they were, they could not weigh down
 “the full and categorical Evidence that was given.”

“THAT if They had yielded to the Importunities
 “of the Persons concerned, who often pressed to have
 “farther Time given to them to prove such a Per-
 “jury, or to disprove such a Conveyance; it must
 “have made their Work endless, and stopped all
 “Manner of Proceedings, for which it appeared They
 “were streightened too much in Time: And that in-
 “deed would have but opened the Door wider for
 “Perjuries and other Corruptions; since it was very
 “plain to them, that either Side could bring as many
 “Witnesses as They pleased, to prove what They
 “pleased, and that They would bring as many as
 “They believed necessary for the Work in Hand.
 “And therefore the Commissioners having before pre-
 “scribed a Method and Rule to themselves for their
 “Pro-

“Proceedings, and that no Man could have a Cause, in which He was concerned, brought to Hearing without his knowing when it was to be heard, and so it was to be presumed, that He was well provided to support his own Title; They had thought fit, upon mature Deliberation amongst themselves, to adhere to the Order They had prescribed to themselves and others, and to conclude, that They would not be able to prove that another Day, which They were not able to prove at the Time when They ought to have been ready.”

“FOR the Discovery of any Forgery after the Decrees had been passed, and upon which They had given no Reparation,” They confessed, “that some few such Discoveries had been made to them, by which the Forgery appeared very clearly: But as They had no Power by the Act of Parliament to punish either Forgery or Perjury, but must leave the Examination and Punishment thereof to the Law and to the Judges of the Law; so, that They had only Authority to make Decrees upon such Grounds as satisfied their Consciences, but had not any Authority to reverse those Decrees, after they were once made and published, upon any Evidence whatsoever.” They concluded with their humble Desire to the King, “that the most strict Examinations might be made of their Corruptions, in which,” They said, “They were sure to be found very innocent, against all the Malice that was discovered against them: That They had proceeded in all Things according to the Integrity of their Hearts, and the best of their Understandings; and if through the Defect of that They had erred in (127) “any Part of their Determinations and Judgments, They hoped their Want of Wisdom should not be imputed to them as a Crime.”

MANY, who had a very good Opinion of the Persons and Abilities of the Commissioners, were not yet satisfied with their Defence; nor did They believe, *that* ^{*Their Defence not perfectly satisfactory.*}

"forged Deeds and Conveyances, by taking
 "and strict View themselves of all Deeds
 "and interrogated the Witnesses with all
 "They could, upon the Matter and
 "upon which such Deeds had been
 "upon the Manner and Circumsta-
 "tion thereof: Which was all
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 "very evident, that in the last ten Days of their
 "ring (which was likewise thought to be when their
 "Power as to those Particulars was determined, and in
 "which They had made more Decrees than in all the
 "Time before), They had made so many in a Day,
 "contrary to their former Rule and Method, that Men
 "were plainly surpris'd, and could not produce those
 "Proofs which in a short Time They might have been
 "supplied with; and the refusing to allow them that
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 "his own Title; They had
 "liberation amongst themselves
 "what They had predicted to
 "had so quickly, that They
 "were that another Day
 "to give at the Time

The Continuation of the Life of

that They were so strictly bound to judge upon the Testimony of suspected Witnesses; but that They were therefore trusted with an arbitrary Power, because it was foreseen that Juries were not like to be entire: So that They were, upon weighing all Circumstances, to declare what in their Consciences They believed to be true and just. That if They had bound themselves up by too strict and unreasonable Rules, They should rather in Time have reformed those Rules, than think to support what was done amiss, by the Observation of what They had prescribed to themselves. And it was believed, that the entire Exclusion of the *English* from being Witnesses for the proving of what could not in Nature be otherwise proved, was not just or reasonable. That their Want of Power to reverse or alter their own Decrees, upon any emergent Reasons which could afterwards occur, was a just Ground for their more serious Deliberation in and before They passed any such Decrees. And their Excuse for not granting longer Time when it was pressed for, was founded upon Reasons which were visibly not to be justified; it not being possible for any Man to defend himself against the Claims of the *Irish*, without knowing what Deeds or Witnesses They could produce for making good their Suggestions; and therefore it was as impossible for them to have all their Evidence upon the Place. Besides that it was very evident, that in the last ten Days of their Sitting (which was likewise thought to be when their Power as to those Particulars was determined, and in which They had made more Decrees than in all the Time before), They had made so many in a Day, contrary to their former Rule and Method, that Men were plainly surpris'd, and could not produce those Proofs which in a short Time They might have been supplied with; and the refusing to allow them that Time, was upon the Matter to determine their Interest, and to take away their Estates without being once heard, and upon the bare Allegations of their
Adver-

Adversaries. And in these last Decrees many Instances were given of that Nature, wherein the Evidence appeared to be very full, if Time had been given to produce it.

THERE was one very notable Case decreed by the Commissioners extremely complained of, and cried out against by all Parties, as well *Irish* as *English*; and for which the Commissioners themselves made no other Excuse or Defence, but the Receipt of a Letter from the King, which was not thought a good Plea for sworn Judges, as the Commissioners were. It was the Case of the Marquis of *Antrim*. Which Case having been so much upon the Stage, and so much enlarged upon to the Reproach of the King, and even to the traducing of the Memory of his blessed Father; and those Men, who artificially contrived the doing of all that was done amiss, having done all They could to wound the Reputation of the Chancellor, and to get it to be believed, "that He had by some sinister Information misled the King to oblige the Marquis:" It is a Debt due to Truth, and to the Honour of Both their Majesties, to set down a very particular Narration of that whole Affair; by which it will appear, how far the King was from so much as wishing that any Thing should be done for the Benefit of the Marquis, which should be contrary to the Rules of Justice.

A Decree in Favour of the Marquis of Antrim universally complained of.

WHILST his Majesty was in foreign Parts, He received frequent Advertisements from *England* and from *Ireland*, "that the Marquis of *Antrim* behaved himself very undutifully towards him; and that (123) "He had made himself very grateful to the Rebels, "by calumniating the late King: And that He had "given it under his Hand to *Ireton*, or some other "principal Person employed under *Cromwell*, that his "late Majesty had sent him into *Ireland* to join with "the Rebels, and that his Majesty was not offended with "the *Irish* for entering into that Rebellion:" Which was a Calumny so false and so odious, and reflected

A very particular Relation of the Marquis of Antrim's Case.

so much upon the Honour of his Majesty, that the King was resolved, as soon as God should put it into his Power, to cause the strictest Examination to be made concerning it; the Report having gained much Credit with his Majesty, by the Notoriety that the Marquis had procured great Recommendations from those who governed in *Ireland*, to those who governed in *England*; and that upon the Presumption of that He had come into *England*, and as far as *St. Albans* towards *London*, from whence He had been forced suddenly to return into *Ireland* by the Activity of his many Creditors, who upon the News of his Coming had provided for his Reception, and would unavoidably have cast him into Prison. And no Recommendation could have inclined those who were in Authority, to do any Thing extraordinary for the Protection of a Person, who from the Beginning of the *Irish* Rebellion lay under so ill a Character with them, and had so ill a Name throughout the Kingdom.

THE King had been very few Days in *London*, after his Arrival from the Parts beyond the Seas, when He was informed that the Marquis of *Antrim* was upon his Way from *Ireland* towards the Court: And the Commissioners from *Ireland*, who have been mentioned before, were the first who gave his Majesty that Information, and at the same Time told him all that his Majesty had heard before concerning the Marquis, and of the bold Calumnies with which He had traduced his Royal Father, with many other Particulars; "all which," They affirmed, "would be proved by unquestionable Evidence, and by Letters and Certificates under his own Hand." Upon this full Information (of the Truth whereof his Majesty entertained no Doubt), as soon as the Marquis came to the Town, He was by the King's special Order committed to the *Tower*; nor could any Petition from him, or Intreaty of his Friends, of which He had some very powerful, prevail with his Majesty to admit him into his Presence. But by

the first Opportunity He was sent Prisoner to *Dublin*, where He was committed to the *Castle*; the King having given Direction, that He should be proceeded against with all Strictness according to Law: And to that Purpose, the Lords Justices were required to give all Orders and Directions necessary. The Marquis still professed and avowed his Innocence, and used all the Means He could to procure that He might be speedily brought to his Trial; which the King likewise expected. But after a Year's Detention in Prison, and Nothing brought against him, He was set at Liberty, and had a Pass given him from the Council there to go into *England*. He then applied himself to his Majesty, demanding Nothing of Favour, but said, "He expected Justice; and that after so many Years being deprived of his Estate, He might at last be restored to it, if Nothing could be objected against him wherein He had deserved his Majesty."

He was a Gentleman who had been bred up in the Court of *England*, and having married the Dutchess of *Buckingham* (though against the King's Will) He had been afterwards very well received by Both their Majesties, and was frequently in their Presence. He had spent a very vast Estate in the Court, without having ever received the least Benefit from it. He had retired into *Ireland*, and lived upon his own Estate in that Country, some Years before the Rebellion brake out; in the Beginning whereof He had undergone some Suspicion, having held some Correspondence with the Rebels, and possibly made some Undertakings to them: But He went speedily to *Dublin*, was well received by the Justices there, and from thence transported himself with their License to *Oxford*, where the King was; to whom He gave so good an Account of all that had passed, that his Majesty made no Doubt of his Affection to his Service, though He had very little Confidence in his Judgment and Understanding, which were never remark-

able. Besides that it was well known, that He had a very unreasonable Envy towards the Marquis of *Ormond*, and would fain have it believed that his Interest in *Ireland* was so great, that He could reclaim that whole Nation to his Majesty's Obedience; but that Vanity and Presumption never gained the least Credit with his Majesty: Yet it may reasonably be believed that He thought so himself, and that it was the Source from which all the bitter Waters of his own Misfortune issued.

UPON the *Scots* second Entering into *England* with their Army upon the Obligation of the *Covenant*, and all his Majesty's Endeavours to prevent it being disappointed, the Marquis of *Mountrose* had proposed to the King, "to make a Journey privately into *Scotland*, and to get into the *Higblands*, where, with his Majesty's Authority, He hoped He should be able to draw together such a Body of Men, as might give his Countrymen Cause to call for their own Army out of *England*, to secure themselves." And with this Overture or upon Debate thereof, He wished "that the Earl of *Antrim*" (for He was then no more) "might be likewise sent into *Ulster*, where his Interest lay, and from whence He would be able to transport a Body of Men into the *Higblands*, where He had likewise the Clan of *Macdonnells*, who acknowledged him to be their Chief, and would be consequently at his Devotion; by which Means, the Marquis of *Mountrose* would be enabled the more powerfully to proceed in his Undertaking." The Earl of *Antrim* entered upon this Undertaking with great Alacrity, and undertook to the King to perform great Matters in *Scotland*; to which his own Interest and Animosity enough disposed him, having an old and a sharp Controversy and Contestation with the Marquis of *Argyle*, who had dispossessed him of a large Territory there. All Things being adjusted for this Undertaking, and his Majesty being well pleased with the Earl's Alacrity, He created him at that Time
a Mar-

a Marquis, gave him Letters to the Marquis of *Ormond* his Lieutenant there, as well to satisfy him of the good Opinion He had of the Marquis of *Antrim*, and of the Trust He had reposed in him, as to wish him to give him all the Assistance He could with Convenience, for the carrying on the Expedition for *Scotland*.

AND for the better preventing of any Inconvenience that might fall out by the Rashness and Inadvertency of the Marquis of *Antrim* towards the Lord Lieutenant, his Majesty sent *Daniel O Neile* of his Bedchamber into *Ireland* with him, who had great Power over him, and very much Credit with the Marquis of *Ormond*; and was a Man of that Dexterity and Address, that no Man could so well prevent the Inconveniences and Prejudice, which the natural Levity and Indiscretion of the other might tempt him to, or more dispose and incline the Lord Lieutenant to take little Notice of those Vanities and Indiscretions. And the King, who had no Desire that the Marquis should stay long in *Dublin*, upon his Promise that He would use all possible Expedition in transporting himself into *Scotland*, gave him Leave to hold that Correspondence with the *Irish* Rebels (who had the Command of all the Northern Parts, and without whose Connivance at least, He could very hardly be able to make his Levies and transport his
30) Men) as was necessary to his Purposes: Within the Limits of which, it is probable enough that He did not contain himself; for the Education and Conversation He had in the World, had not extirpated that natural Craft in which that Nation excels, and by which They only deceive themselves; and might say many Things, which He had not Authority or Warrant to say.

UPON his Coming to *Dublin*, the Lord Lieutenant gave him all the Countenance He could wish, and assisted him in all the Ways He could propose, to prosecute his Design; but the Men were to be raised

in or near the Rebels Quarters. And it cannot be denied, but that the Levies He made, and sent over into *Scotland* under the Command of *Calkite*, were the Foundation of all those wonderful Acts, which were performed afterwards by the Marquis of *Mountrose* (They were fifteen hundred Men, very good, and with very good Officers, all so hardy, that neither the ill Fare nor the ill Lodging in the *Higblands* gave them any Discouragement), and gave the first Opportunity to the Marquis of *Mountrose* of being in the Head of an Army; under which He drew together such of the *Higblanders* and others of his Friends, who were willing to repair to him. But upon any military Action, and Defeat given to the Enemy, which happened as often as They encountered the *Scots*, the *Higblanders* went always home with their Booty, and the *Irish* only staid together with their General. And from this Beginning the Marquis of *Mountrose* grew to that Power, that after many Battles won by him with notable Slaughter of the Enemy, He marched victoriously with his Army till He made himself Master of *Edinburgb*, and redeemed out of the Prison there the Earl of *Crawford*, Lord *Ogilby*, and many other noble Persons, who had been taken and sent thither, with Resolution that They should all lose their Heads. And the Marquis of *Mountrose* did always acknowledge, that the Rise and Beginning of his good Success was due and to be imputed to that Body of *Irish*, which had in the Beginning been sent over by the Marquis of *Antrim*; to whom the King had acknowledged the Service by several Letters, all of his own Handwriting; in which were very gracious Expressions of the Sense his Majesty had of his great Services, and his Resolution to reward him.

It is true, that the Marquis of *Antrim* had not gone over himself with his Men, as He had promised to do, but stayed in *Ulster* under Pretence of raising a greater Body of Men, with which He would adventure

venture his own Person; but either out of Jealousy or Displeasure against the Marquis of *Mountrose*, or having in Truth no Mind to that Service of *Scotland*, He prosecuted not that Purpose, but remained still in *Ulster*, where all his own Estate lay, and so was in the Rebels Quarters, and no Doubt was often in their Councils; by which He gave great Advantages against himself, and might in Stricness of Law have been as severely punished by the King, as the worst of the Rebels. At last, in his moving from Place to Place (for He was not in any Expedition with the Rebels) He was taken Prisoner by the *Scots*, who intended to have put him to Death for having sent Men into *Scotland*; but He made his Escape out of their Hands, and transported himself into *Flanders*, and from thence, having Assurance that the Prince (his Majesty that now is) was then in the *West*, He came with two good Frigats into the Port of *Falmouth*, and offered his Service to his Royal Highness; and having in his Frigats a Quantity of Arms and some Ammunition, which He had procured in *Flanders* for the Service of *Ireland*, most of the Arms and Ammunition were employed, with his Consent, for the Supply of the Troops and Garrisons in *Cornwall*: And the Prince made Use of one of the Frigats to transport his Person into *Scilly*, and from thence to *Jersey*; without which Convenience, his Highness had been exposed to great Difficulties, and could hardly have escaped the Hands of his Enemies. After all which, when *Dublin* was given up to the Parliament, and the King's Authority was withdrawn out of that Kingdom, He again (not having wherewithal to live any where else) transported himself into *Ireland*, made himself gracious with the *Irish*, and was by them sent into *France*, to desire the Queen Mother and the Prince of *Wales* "to send the Marquis of *Ormond* to "reassume his Majesty's Government in that Kingdom;" which was done accordingly, in the Manner that is mentioned elsewhere.

The Continuation of the Life of

THE Marquis of *Antrim* alleged all these Particulars, and produced many original Letters from the late King (besides those which are mentioned), the Queen Mother, and the Prince, in all which his Services had been acknowledged, and many Promises made to him; and concluded with a full Protestation, "that He desired no Pardon for any Thing that He "had ever done against the King; and if there were "the least Proof that He had failed in his Fidelity to "him, or had not according to the best of his Understanding advanced his Service, He looked for no "Favour. But if his being in the *Irish* Quarters and "consulting with them, without which He could not "have made his Levies for *Scotland*, nor transported "them if He had levied them, and if his living "amongst them afterwards, when his Majesty's Authority was drawn from thence, and when He could "live no where else, do by the strict Letter of the "Law expose him to Ruin without his Majesty's "Grace and Favour, He did hope his Majesty would "redeem him from that Misery, and that the Forfeiture of his Estate should not be taken, as if He "were a Traitor and a Rebel to the King." And it appeared that if He were restored to all He could pretend to, or of which He had ever been possessed, his Debts were so great, and his Creditors had those legal Incumbrances upon his Estate, that his Condition at best would not be liable to much Envy.

THOUGH the King had been never taken Notice of to have any great Inclinations to the Marquis, who was very little known to him; yet this Representation and clear View of what He had done and what He had suffered, raised great Compassion towards him in the Royal Breast of his Majesty. And He thought it would in some Degree reflect upon his own Honour and Justice, and upon the Memory of his blessed Father, if in a Time when He passed by so many Transgressions very heinous, He should leave the Marquis exposed to the Fury of his Enemies (who were only his Enemies because

cause They were possessed of his Estate, and because He desired to have his own from them) for no other Crime upon the Matter, than for not having that Prudence and that Providence in his Endeavours to serve the King, as He ought to have had; that is, He ought to have been wiser. And the Rigour exercised towards him upon his first Arrival, in sending him to the *Tower* and afterwards into *Ireland*, by those who enough wished his Destruction, and that They had not been able to make the least Proof against him, improved his Majesty's good Disposition towards him. Yet He refused positively to write a Letter to the Commissioners on his Behalf; which the Marquis most importunately desired, as the only Thing that could do him Good. But his Majesty directed a Letter to be prepared to the Lord Lieutenant, in which all his Allegations and Suggestions should be set down, and the Truth thereof examined by him; and that if He should be found to have committed no greater Faults against the King, than those which He confessed, then that Letter should be sent to the Commissioners, that They might see Both their Majesties

(133) Testimonies in such Particulars as were known to themselves. And this Letter was very warily drawn; and being approved by his Majesty, was sent accordingly to the Lord Lieutenant. And shortly after a Copy of it signed by the King (who conceived it only to be a Duplicate, lest the other should miscarry) was, contrary to his Majesty's Resolution, and contrary to the Advice of the Chancellor and without his Knowledge, likewise sent to the Commissioners; who had thereupon made such a Decree as is before mentioned, and declared, "that They had made it only upon "that Ground;" which gave his Majesty some Trouble, and obliged him to insert a Clause in the next Bill concerning that Affair.

AND this was the whole Proceeding that related to the Marquis of *Antrim*: And it is yet very hard to comprehend, wherein there was more Favour shewed towards

Grants were prepared there, and passed under the Great Seal of *Ireland*.

THERE was then likewise a new Clause introduced into those Grants, of a very new Nature; for being grounded always upon Letters out of *England*, and passed under the Seal of *Ireland*, the Letters were prepared and formed there, and transmitted hither only for his Majesty's Sign Manual: So that neither the King's learned Council at Law, nor any other his Ministers (the Secretaries only excepted), had any Notice or the Perusal of any of those Grants. The Clause was, "that if any of those Lands so granted by his Majesty should be otherwise decreed, his Majesty's Grantee should be reprimed with other Lands:" So that in many Cases, the greatest Inducement to his Majesty's Bounty being the Incertainty of his own Right, which the Person to whom it was granted was obliged to vindicate at his own Charge, the King was now bound to make it good, if his Grant was not valid. And so that which was but a contingent Bounty, which commonly was the sole Argument for the passing it, was now turned into a real and substantial Benefit, as a Debt; which created another Difficulty in the Settlement: Which was yet the more hard, because there were many Claims of the *Irish* themselves yet unheard, all the false Admeasurements to be examined, and many other Uncertainties to be determined by the Commissioners; which left those who were in quiet Possession, as well as those who were out of it, in the highest Insecurity and Apprehension.

And with an extraordinary Clause inserted in the Grants.

THIS Intricacy and even Despair, which possessed all Kind of People, of any Settlement, made all of them willing to contribute to any that could be proposed. They found his Majesty very unwilling to consent to the Repeal of the Decrees made by the Commissioners; which must have taken away the Confidence and Assurance of whatsoever was to be done hereafter, by making Men see, that what was
settled

settled by one Act of Parliament might immediately be unsettled by another : So that there was no Hope by that Expedient to increase the Number of Acres, which being left might in any Degree comply with the several Pretences. The *Irish* found, that They might only be able to obstruct any Settlement, but should never be able to get such a one as would turn to their own Satisfaction. The Soldiers and *Adventurers* agreed less amongst themselves : And the Clamour was as great against those, who by false Admeasurements had gotten more than They should have, as from those who had received less than was their Due ; and They who least feared any new Examination could not yet have any secure Title, before all the rest were settled. In a Word, all Men found that any Settlement would be better than none ; and (14) that more Profit would arise from a smaller Proportion of Land quietly possessed and husbanded accordingly, than from a much greater Proportion under a doubtful Title and Incertainty, which must dishearten any Industry and Improvement.

UPON these Considerations and Motives, They met amongst themselves, and debated together by what Expedient They might draw Light out of this Darkness. There appeared only one Way which administered any reasonable Hope ; which was, by increasing the Stock for Reprisals to such a Degree, that all Mens Pretences might in some Measure be provided for : And there was no other Way to arrive to this, but by every Man's parting with somewhat which He thought to be his own. And to this They had one Encouragement, that was of the highest Prevalence with them, which was, that this Way an End would be put to the illimited Jurisdiction of the Commissioners (which was very terrible to all of them), who from henceforth could have little other Power, than to execute what should here be agreed upon.

IN Conclusion, They brought a Proposition to the King, raised and digested between themselves, " that
" all

*The different
Parties at last
agree upon an
Expedient for
a Settlement.*

*Hereupon the
King passes
the third
Act of Set-
tlement.*

“all Persons, who were to receive any Benefit by this Act, should abate and give a fourth Part of what They had, towards the Stock for Reprisals; all which the Commissioners should distribute amongst those *Irish*, who should appear most fit for his Majesty’s Bounty.” And this Agreement was so unanimous, that though it met with some obstinate Opposition after it was brought before the King, yet the Number of the Opposers was so small in Respect of the others who agreed to it, that They grew weary and ashamed of farther Contention. And thereupon that *third Act of Settlement*, as supplemental to the other two, was consented to by the King; who, to publish to the World that Nothing stuck with him which seemed to reflect upon the Commissioners, resolved to make no Change: And so though two of them, who had Offices here to discharge, prevailed with his Majesty that They might not return again into *Ireland*; the other five were continued, to execute what was more to be done by this Act, and so to perfect the Settlement. And no Doubt it will be here said, that this Expedient might have been sooner found, and so prevented many of those Disorders and Inconveniences which intervened. But They who knew that Time, and the Perverseness and Obstinacy that possessed all Pretenders, must confess that the Season was never ripe before: Nor could their Consent and Agreement, upon which this Act was founded, ever be obtained before.

THESE were all the Transactions which passed with Reference to *Ireland*, whilst the Chancellor remained at that Board; in which He acted no more than any other of the Lords who were present did: Except when any Difficulties occurred in their private Meetings and Debates, They sometimes resorted to him for Advice, which He was ready to give; being always willing to take any Pains, which might make that very difficult Work more easy to be brought to a good End. But as He never thought He deserved any

any Reward for so doing, so He never expected the Benefit of one Shilling in Money or in Money's Worth, for any Thing He ever did in that Affair; and was so far from entertaining any Overture to that Purpose, that it is notoriously known to many Persons of Honour, who I presume will be ready to testify the same, that when, upon his Majesty's first Return into *England*, some Propositions were made to him of receiving the Grant of some forfeited Lands, and for the buying other Lands there upon the Desire of the Owners thereof, and at so low a Price that the very Profit of the Land would in a short Time have paid for the Purchase, and other Overtures of immediate Benefit in Money (which others did and lawfully might accept); He rejected all Propositions of that Kind or relating to it, and declared publickly and privately, "that He would neither have Lands in *Ireland* nor the least Benefit from thence, till all Differences and Pretences in that Kingdom should be so fully settled and agreed, that there could be no more Appeal to the King, or repairing to the King's Council for Justice; in which," He said, "He should never be thought so competent an Adviser, if He had any Title of his own in that Kingdom to bias his Inclinations." And He was often heard to say, "that He never took a firmer Resolution in any Particular in his Life, than to adhere to that Conclusion." Yet because it was notorious afterwards, that He did receive some Money out of *Ireland*, and had a lawful Title to receive more (with which He was reproached when He could not answer for himself); it may not be amiss in this Place, for his Vindication, to set down particularly how that came to pass, and to mention all the Circumstances which preceded, accompanied or attended, that Affair.

*A Vindication
of the Chan-
cellor with
Regard to the
Irish Affairs.*

IN the Bills which were first transmitted from *Ireland* after his Majesty's happy Return, there was an Imposition of a certain Sum of Money upon some specified

specified Lands in several Provinces, "which was to be paid to his Majesty within a limited Time, and to be disposed of by his Majesty to such Persons who had served him faithfully, and suffered in so doing," or Words to that Effect; for He often protested that He never saw the Act of Parliament, and was most confident that He never heard of it at the Time when it passed, He being often absent from the Council, by Reason of the Gout or other Accidents, when such Matters were transacted. But two Years after the King's Return or thereabout, He received a Letter from the Earl of *Orrery*, "that there would be in his Hands, and in the Earl of *Anglesey's* and the Lord *Massaren's*" (who it seems were appointed Treasurers to receive the Money to be raised by that Act of Parliament), "a good Sum of Money for him; which He gave him Notice of, to the End that He might give Direction for the Disposal thereof, whether He would have it returned into *England*, or laid out in Land in *Ireland*;" and He wished "that He would speedily send his Direction, because He was confident that the Money would be paid in, at least by the Time that his Letter could arrive there." No Man can be more surprised, than the Chancellor was at the Receipt of this Letter, believing that there was some Mistake in it, and that his Name might have been used in Trust by Somebody who had given him no Notice of it. And without returning any Answer to the Earl of *Orrery*, He writ by that Post to the Lord Lieutenant, to inform him of what the Earl of *Orrery* had writ to him, and desired him to "inform him by his own Enquiry, what the Meaning of it was."

BEFORE He had an Answer from the Lord Lieutenant, or indeed before his Letter could come to the Lord Lieutenant's Hands, He received a second Letter from the Earl of *Orrery*; in which He informed him, "that there was now paid in to his Use, the Sum of twelve thousand six hundred and odd Pounds, and that there would be the like Sum again received
"for

"for him at the End of six Months;" and sent him a particular Direction, "to what Person and in what Form He was to send his Order for the Payment of the Money." The Chancellor still forbore to answer this Letter, till He had received an Answer to what He had written to the Lord Lieutenant, who then informed him at large, what Title He had to that Money, and how He came to have it: "That shortly after the passing that Act of Parliament, which had given his Majesty the Disposal of the (136) "Money before mentioned, the Earl of *Orrery* had come to him, the Lord Lieutenant, and putting him in Mind, how the Chancellor had rejected all Overtures which had been made to him of Benefit out of that Kingdom" (which Refusal, and many others that shew how unsollicitous He had always been in the Ways of getting, is not more known to any Man living than to the Lord Lieutenant), "wished that He would move the King to confer some Part of that Money upon the Chancellor; which the Lord Lieutenant very willingly did, and his Majesty as cheerfully granted: That a Letter was accordingly prepared, and his Majesty's Royal Signature procured by Mr. Secretary *Nicholas*, who was at the same Time commanded by the King not to let him know of it; to which Purpose there was likewise a Clause in the Letter, whereby it was provided that He should have no Notice of it; which," the Lord Lieutenant said, "was by his Majesty's Direction or with his Approbation, because it was said, that if He had Notice of it, He would be so foolish as to obstruct it himself. And there was a Clause likewise in the said Letter, which directed the Payment of the said Monies to his Heirs, Executors or Assigns, if He should die before the Receipt thereof."

THE Chancellor being so fully advertised of all this by the Lord Lieutenant, and of which till that Time He had not the least Notice or Imagination, He de-

The Continuation of the Life of

all the Money that He ever received from *Ireland*, with all the Circumstances thereof; which, in the Judgment of all impartial Men, cannot reflect to the Prejudice of his Integrity and Honour.

AND so We shall no further pursue or again resume any Mention of the Affairs of *Ireland*, though they will afford a large Field of Matter; but shall return to the Beginning of the Parliament, from whence We departed.

*Transposition
in Parliament.*

*The King's
Prerogatives
asserted.*

IT cannot be expressed, hardly imagined, with what Alacrity the Parliament entered upon all particular Affairs which might refer to the King's Honour, Safety or Profit. They pulled up all those Principles of Sedition and Rebellion by the Roots, which in their own Observation had been the Ground of or contributed to the odious and infamous Rebellion in the long Parliament. They declared "that
"sottish Distinction between the King's Person and
"his Office to be Treason; that his Negative Voice
"could not be taken from him, and was so essential
"to the making a Law, that no Order or Ordinance
"of either House could be binding to the Subject
"without it; that the Militia was inseparably vested
"in his Majesty, and that it was High Treason to
"raise or levy Soldiers without the King's Com-
"mission." And because the License of speaking
seditiously, and of laying scandalous Imputations and Aspersions upon the Person of the King, as saying *that He was a Papist*, and such like Terms, to alienate the Affections of the People from his Majesty, had been the Prologue and principal Ingredient to that Rebellion, and corrupted the Hearts of his loving Subjects; They declared, "that the raising any Calumnies of that Kind upon the King, as saying
"that He is a Papist, or popishly affected, or the like,
"should be Felony." In a Word, They vindicated all his Regalities and Royal Prerogatives, and provided for the Safety of his Person in as loving and ample a Manner as He could wish: And towards
raising

raising and settling a Revenue proportionable to his Dignity and necessary Expense, over and above the Confirmation of all that had been done or granted in the last Convention, They entered upon all the Expedients which could occur to them, and were willing to receive Propositions or Advice from any Body that ⁽¹³⁸⁾ might contribute thereunto. In all these publick Matters, no Man could with a more active Spirit to be in them, than They were in Truth possessed with.

BUT in that which the King had principally re-^{The Parlia-}commended to them, the Confirmation of the *Act of* ^{ment unwilling-}*Oblivion and Indemnity*, They proceeded very slowly, ^{ing to confirm} coldly and unwillingly, notwithstanding the King's ^{the Act of} frequent Messages to them "to dispatch it, though ^{Indemnity.} "with the Delay of those other Things which They "thought did more immediately concern him." They had many Agents and Solicitors in the Court, who thought that all that was released by that Act might lawfully be distributed amongst them; and since the King had referred that whole Affair to the Parliament, He might well leave it to their Judgments, without his own Interposition. But his Majesty looked upon himself as under another Obligation both of Honour and Conscience, and upon the Thing itself as more for the publick Peace and Security, than any Thing the Parliament could provide instead thereof; and therefore was very much troubled and offended at the apparent Unwillingness to pass it. And thereupon He went himself to the House of Peers, and sent for the Commons and told them, "that it was ^{The King} "absolutely necessary to dispatch that Bill, which He ^{strenuously} "himself had sent to them near two Months before:" ^{urges them to} "it." For it was now the eighth of *July*. His Majesty told them, "that it was to put himself in Mind as well as "them, that He so often, as often as He came to them, "mentioned to them his Declaration from *Breda*." And He said, "He should put them in Mind of "another Declaration published by themselves about

“that Time, and which He was persuaded made his
 “the more effectual, an honest, generous and Christian
 “Declaration, signed by the most eminent Persons,
 “who had been the most eminent Sufferers; in which
 “They renounced all former Animosities, all Memo-
 “ry of former Unkindnesses, vowed all imaginable
 “Good-Will and all Confidence in each other.” All
 which being pressed with so much Instance by his
 Majesty prevailed with them: And They then forth-
 with dispatched that Bill; and the King as soon con-
 firmed it, and would not stay a few Days, till other
 important Bills should be likewise ready to be presented
 to him.

*Whereupon
 They confirm
 it.*

AND there cannot be a greater Instance of their
 Desire to please his Majesty from thenceforth, than
 that before that Session was concluded, notwithstanding
 the Prejudice the Clergy had brought upon them-
 selves (as I said before) upon their too much good
 Husbandry in granting Leases, and though the Pres-
 byterian Party was not without an Interest in Both
 Houses of Parliament; They passed a Bill for the
 Repeal of that Act of Parliament, by which the
 Bishops were excluded from sitting there. It was
 first proposed in the House of Commons by a Gen-
 tleman, who had been always taken to be of a
 Presbyterian Family: And in that House it found
 less Opposition than was looked for; all Men know-
 ing, that besides the Justice of it, and the Prudence
 to wipe out the Memory of so infamous an Act, as
 the Exclusion of them with all the Circumstances was
 known to be, it would be grateful to the King.

*The Commons
 pass a Bill for
 restoring Bi-
 shops to their
 Seats in Par-
 liament.*

BUT when it came into the House of Peers, where
 all Men expected it would find a general Concurrence,
 it met with some Obstruction; which made a Disco-
 very of an Intrigue, that had not been suspected.
 For though there were many Lords present, who
 had industriously laboured the passing the former
 Bill for the Exclusion, yet They had likewise been
 guilty of so many other ill Things, of which They
 were

were ashamed, that it was believed that They would not willingly revive the Memory of the Whole, by persevering in such an odious Particular. Nor in (139) Truth did They. But when They saw that it would unavoidably pass (for the Number of that Party was not considerable), They either gave their Consents, as many of them did, or gave their Negative without Noise. The Obstruction came not from thence. The *Catholicks* less owned the Contradiction, nor were guilty of it, though They suffered in it. But the Truth is, it proceeded from the mercurial Brain of the Earl of *Bristol*, who much affected to be looked upon as the Head of the *Catholicks*; which They did so little desire that He should be thought, that They very rarely concurred with him. He well knew that the King desired (which his Majesty never disssembled) to give the *Roman Catholicks* Ease from all the sanguinary Laws; and that He did not desire that They should be liable to the other Penalties which the Law had made them subject to, whilst They should in all other Respects behave themselves like good Subjects. Nor had They since his Majesty's Return sustained the least Prejudice by their Religion, but enjoyed as much Liberty at Court and in the Country, as any other Men; and with which the wisest of them were abundantly satisfied, and did abhor the Activity of those of their own Party, whom They did believe more like to deprive them of the Liberty They enjoyed, than to enlarge it to them.

Which is obstructed in the House of Lords by the Earl of Bristol.

WHEN the Earl of *Bristol* saw this Bill brought into the House for restoring the Bishops to their Seats, He went to the King, and informed his Majesty, "that if this Bill should speedily pass, it would absolutely deprive the *Catholicks* of all those Graces and Indulgence which He intended to them; for "that the Bishops, when They should sit in the "House, whatever their own Opinions or Inclinations "were, would find themselves obliged, that They "might preserve their Reputation with the People,

"to

"to contradict and oppose whatsoever should look
 "like Favour or Connivance towards the *Catholicks* :
 "And therefore, if his Majesty continued his former
 "gracious Inclinations towards the *Roman Catholicks*,
 "He must put some Stop (even for the Bishops own
 "Sakes) to the passing that Bill, till the other should
 "be more advanced, which He supposed might short-
 "ly be done ;" there having been already some Over-
 "tures made to that Purpose, and a Committee ap-
 "pointed in the House of Lords to take a View of all
 "the sanguinary Laws in Matters of Religion, and to
 "present them to the House that it might consider
 "farther of them. The King surprised with the Dis-
 "course from a Man who had often told him the Ne-
 "cessity of the restoring the Bishops, and that it could
 "not be a perfect Parliament without their Presence,
 "thought his Reason for the Delay to have Weight
 "in it, and that the Delay for a few Days could be
 "attended with no Prejudice to the Matter itself ; and
 "thereupon was willing the Bill should not be called
 "for, and that when it should be under Commitment,
 "it should be detained there for some Time ; and that
 "He might, the better to produce this Delay, tell
 "some of his Friends, "that the King would be well
 "pleased, that there should not be overmuch Haste
 "in the presenting that Bill for his Royal Assent."

THIS grew quickly to be taken Notice of in the
 House, that after the first Reading of that Bill, it
 had been put off for a second Reading longer than
 was usual, when the House was at so much Leisure ;
 and that now it was under Commitment, it was ob-
 "structed there, notwithstanding all the Endeavours
 "some Lords of the Committee could use for the Dis-
 "patch ; the Bill containing very few Words, being
 "only for the Repeal of a former Act, and the Ex-
 "pressions admitting, that is, giving little Cause for
 "any Debate. The Chancellor desired to know how
 "this came to pass, and was informed by one of the
 "Lords of the Committee, "that They were assured
 "that

“that the King would have a Stop put to it, till
 60) “another Bill should be provided which his Majesty
 “looked for.” Hereupon the Chancellor spake with
 his Majesty, who told him all the Conference which
 the Earl of *Bristol* had held with him, and what He
 had consented should be done. To which the other
 replied, “that He was sorry that his Majesty had
 “been prevailed with to give any Obstruction to a
 “Bill, which every Body knew his Majesty’s Heart
 “was so much set upon for Dispatch; and that if the
 “Reason were known, it would quickly put an End
 “to all the Pretences of the *Catholicks*; to which his
 “Majesty knew He was no Enemy.” The King
 presently concluded that the Reason was not sufficient,
 and wished “that the Bill might be dispatched as
 “soon as was possible, that He might pass it that
 “Session;” which He had appointed to make an
 End of within few Days: And so the next Day the
 Report was called for and made, and the Bill ordered
 to be engrossed against the next Morning; the Earl
 not being at that Time in the House. But the next
 Morning, when the Chancellor had the Bill engrossed
 in his Hand to present to the House to be read the
 third Time, the Earl came to him to the Woolfack,
 and with great Displeasure and Wrath in his Counte-
 nance told him, “that if that Bill were read that
 “Day, He would speak against it;” to which the
 Chancellor gave him an Answer that did not please
 him: And the Bill was passed that Day. And from
 that Time the Earl of *Bristol* was a more avowed But is at last passed.
 and declared Enemy to him, than He had before
 professed to be; though the Friendship that had been
 between them had been discontinued or broken, from
 the Time the Earl had changed his Religion.

THE King within few Days came to the Parliament,
 to give his Royal Assent to those Bills which were
 prepared for him; and then told them, “that He
 “did thank them with all his Heart, indeed as much
 “as He could for any Thing, for the Repeal of that
 “Act

*The Parlia-
ment adjourn-
ed.*

“Act which excluded the Bishops from sitting in Parliament.” He said, “it was an unhappy Act in an unhappy Time, passed with many unhappy Circumstances, and attended with miserable Events; and therefore He did again thank them for repealing it: And that They had thereby restored Parliaments to their primitive Institutions.” This was upon the thirtieth of *July 1661*, when the Parliament was adjourned to the twentieth of *November* following.

*The true
Ground of the
King's Fa-
vour to the
Roman Ca-
tholicks.*

BECAUSE We have mentioned the gracious Purposes the King had to his Roman Catholick Subjects; of which afterwards much Use was made to his Dis-service, to which the Vanity and Presumption of many of that Profession contributed very much; it may not be unseasonable in this Place to mention the Ground of that his Majesty's Goodness, and the Reasons why that Purpose of him was not prosecuted to the Purpose it was intended, after so fair a Rise towards it, by the Appointment of that Committee in the House of Peers, which is remembered above.

It is not to be wondered at, that the King, at the Age He was of when the Troubles began in *England*, and when He came out of *England*, knew very little of the Laws which had been long since made and were still in Force against *Roman Catholicks*; and less of the Grounds and Motives which had introduced those Laws. And from the Time that He was first beyond the Seas, He could not be without hearing very much spoken against the Protestant Religion, and more for extolling and magnifying the Religion of the Church of *Rome*; neither of which Discourses made any Impression upon him. And after the Defeat at *Worcester*, and his Escape from thence into *France*, the Queen his Mother (who had very punctually complied with the King her Husband's Injunctions, in not suffering any Body to endeavour to pervert the Prince her Son in his Religion, and when He came afterwards into *France* after He was King, continued the same Reservation)

used much more Sharpness in her Discourse against the *Protestants*, than She had been accustomed to. The Liberty that his Majesty formerly had in the *Louvre*, to have a Place set aside for the Exercise of his Religion, was taken away: And continual Discourses were made by the Queen in his Presence, "that He "had now no Hope ever to be restored to his Dominions, but by the Help of the *Catholicks*; and "therefore that He must apply himself to them "in such a Way, as might induce them to help "him."

ABOUT this Time there was a short Collection and Abridgment made of all the penal Laws, which had been made and which were still in Force in *England* against the *Roman Catholicks*;" "that all Priests for "saying Mass were to be put to Death;" the great Penalties which They were to undergo, who entertained or harboured a Priest in their House, or were present at Mass, and the like; with all other envious Clauses, which were in any Acts of Parliament, that had been enacted upon several Treasons and Conspiracies of the *Roman Catholicks*, in the Reigns of Queen *Elizabeth* and King *James*. And this Collection They caused to be translated into *French* and into *Latin*, and scattered it abroad in all Places; after They had caused Copies of it to be presented to the Queen Mother of *France*, and to the Cardinal: So that the King came into no Place where those Papers were not shewed to him, and where He was not seriously asked, "whether it was a true Collection of the "Laws of *England*," and "whether it was possible, "that any Christian Kingdom could exercise so much "Tyranny against the Catholick Religion." The King, who had never heard of these Particulars, did really believe that the Paper was forged, and answered, "He did not believe that there were such Laws:" And when He came to his Lodgings, He gave the Chancellor the Paper, and bade him read it, and tell him, "whether such Laws were in Force in *Eng-*
"land,

"land." He had heard before of the scattering of those Papers, and knew well who had made the Collection; who had been a Lawyer, and was a *Protestant*, but had too good an Opinion of the *Roman Catholicks*, and desired too much to be grateful to them.

THE Chancellor found an Opportunity the next Day to enlarge upon the Paper to his Majesty, and informed him of "the Seasons in which, and the Occasions and Provocations upon which, those Laws had been made; of the frequent Treasons and Conspiracies which had been entered into by some *Roman Catholicks*, always with the Privity and Approbation of their Priests and Confessors, against the Person and Life of Queen *Elizabeth*; and after her Death, of the infamous and detestable Gunpowder Treason to have destroyed King *James* and his Posterity, with the whole Nobility of the Kingdom: So that in those Times, the Pope having excommunicated the whole Kingdom, and absolved the Subjects from all their Oaths of Fidelity, there seemed no Expedient to preserve the Crown, but the using these Severities against those who were professed Enemies to it. But that since those Times, that the *Roman Catholicks* had lived quietly, that Rigour had not been used: And that the King his Father's Clemency towards those of that Profession (which Clemency extended no farther than the dispensing with the utmost Rigour of the Laws), was the Ground of the Scandal of his being popishly affected, that contributed as much to his Ruin, as any particular Malice in the worst of his Enemies."

THE King hearkened attentively to all that was⁽¹⁴⁾ said, and then answered, "that He could not doubt but there was some very extraordinary Reason for the making such strange Laws: But whatever the Reason then was, that it was at present and for many Years past very evident, that there was no such Malignity in the *Roman Catholicks*, that should
"con-

“continue that heavy Yoke upon their Necks. That
“He knew well enough, that if He were in *England*,
“He had not in himself the Power to repeal any
“Act of Parliament, without the Consent of Parlia-
“ment: But that He knew no Reason why He
“might not profess, that He did not like those Laws
“which caused Men to be put to Death for their
“Religion; and that He would do his best, if ever
“God restored him to his Kingdom, that those
“bloody Laws might be repealed. And that if
“there were no other Reason of State than He
“could yet comprehend, against the taking away
“the other Penalties, He should be glad that all
“those Distinctions between his Subjects might be
“removed; and that whilst They were all equally
“good Subjects, They might equally enjoy his Pro-
“tection.” And his Majesty did frequently, when
He was in the Courts of Catholick Princes, and
when He was sure to hear the Sharpness of the Laws
in *England* inveighed against, enlarge upon the same
Discourse: And it had been a very unseasonable
Presumption in any Man, who would have endea-
voured to have dissuaded him from entertaining that
Candour in his Heart.

WITH this gracious Disposition his Majesty re-
turned into *England*; and received his Catholick Sub-
jects with the same Grace and Frankness, that He
did his other: And They took all Opportunities to
extol their own Sufferings, which They would have
understood to have been for him. And some very
noble Persons there were, who had served his Father
very worthily in the War, and suffered as largely
afterwards for having done so: But the Number of
those was not great, but much greater than of those
who shewed any Affection to him or for him, during
the Time of his Absence, and the Government of the
Usurper. Yet some few there were, even of those
who had suffered most for his Father, who did send
him Supply when He was abroad, though They were
hardly

*A Committee
of the Lords
for relaxing
the penal
Laws against
the Roman
Catholicks.*

hardly able to provide Necessaries for themselves : And in his Escape from *Worcester*, He received extraordinary Benefit, by the Fidelity of many poor People of that Religion ; which his Majesty was never reserved in the Remembrance of. And this gracious Disposition in him did not then appear ingrateful to any. And then, upon an Address made to the House of Peers in the Name of the *Roman Catholicks*, for some Relaxation of those Laws which were still in Force against them, the House of Peers appointed that Committee which is mentioned before, to examine and report all those penal Statutes, which reached to the taking away the Life of any *Roman Catholick*, Priest or Layman, for his Religion ; there not appearing one Lord in the House, who seemed to be unwilling that those Laws should be repealed. And after that Committee was appointed, the *Roman Catholick* Lords and their Friends for some Days diligently attended it, and made their Observations upon several Acts of Parliament, in which They desired Ease. But on a sudden this Committee was discontinued, and never after revived ; the *Roman Catholicks* never afterwards being solicitous for it.

*The Roman
Catholicks
disagree a-
mongst them-
selves.*

THE Argument was now to be debated amongst themselves, that They might agree what would please them : And then there quickly appeared that Discord and Animosity between them, that never was nor ever will be extinguished ; and of which the State might make much other Use than it hath done. The Lords and Men of Estates were not satisfied, in that They observed the Good-Nature of the House⁽¹⁴⁾ did not appear to extend farther, than the abolishing those Laws which concerned the Lives of the Priests, which did not much affect them : For besides that those Spectacles were no longer grateful to the People, They were confident that They should not be without Men to discharge those Functions ; and the Number of such was more grievous to them than the Scarcity. That which They desired was, the Removal of those
Laws,

Laws, which being let loose would deprive them of so much of their Estates, that the Remainder would not preserve them from Poverty. This Indulgence would indeed be grateful to them; for the other They cared not. Nor were the Ecclesiasticks at all pleased with what was proposed for their Advantage, but looked upon themselves as deprived of the Honour of Martyrdom by this Remission, that They might undergo Restraints, which would be more grievous than Death itself: And They were very apprehensive, that there would remain some Order of them excluded, as there was even a most universal Prejudice against the *Jesuits*; or that there would be some Limitations of their Numbers, which They well knew the *Catholicks* in general would be very glad of, though They could not appear to desire it.

THERE was a Committee chosen amongst them of the Superiours of all Orders, and of the secular Clergy, that sat at *Arundel-House*, and consulted together with some of the principal Lords and others of the prime Quality of that Religion, what They should say or do in such and such Cases which probably might fall out. They all concluded, at least apprehended, that They should never be dispensed with in Respect of the Oaths, which were enjoined to be taken by all Men, without their submitting to take some other Oath, that might be an equal Security of and for their Fidelity to the King, and the Preservation of the Peace of the Kingdom. And there had been lately scattered abroad some printed Papers, written by some Regular and Secular Clergy, with sober Propositions to that Purpose, and even the Form of an Oath and Subscription to be taken or made by all *Catholicks*; in which there was an absolute Renunciation or Declaration against the temporal Authority of the Pope, which, in all common Discourses amongst the *Protestants*, all *Roman Catholicks* made no Scruple to renounce and disclaim: But it coming now to be the Subject-Matter of the Debate in this Committee, the
Jesuits

Jesuits declared with much Warmth, "that They ought not, nor could They with a good Conscience "as *Catholicks*, deprive the Pope of his temporal Authority, which He hath in all Kingdoms granted to "him by God himself," with very much to that Purpose; with which most of the temporal Lords, and very many of the Seculars and Regulars, were so much scandalized, that the Committee being broken up for that Time, They never attended it again; the wiser and the more conscientious Men discerning, that there was a Spirit in the rest that was raised and governed by a Passion, of which They could not comprehend the Ground. And the Truth is, the *Jesuits*, and They who adhered to them, had entertained great Hopes from the King's too much Grace to them, and from the great Liberty They enjoyed; and promised themselves and their Friends another Kind of Indulgence, than They saw was intended to them by the House of Peers. And this was the Reason that that Committee was no more looked after, nor any publick Address was any farther prosecuted.

AND from this Time there every Day appeared so much Insolence and Indiscretion amongst the imprudent *Catholicks*, that They brought so many Scandals upon his Majesty, and kindled so much Jealousy in the Parliament, that there grew a general Aversion towards them. And the King's Party remembered, with what Wariness and Disregard the *Roman Catholicks* had lived towards them in the whole Time of the Usurpation; and how little Sorrow They made Shew of upon the horrid Murder of the King (which was then exceedingly taken Notice of): And They who had been abroad with the King remembered, that his Majesty had received less Regard and Respect from his Catholick Subjects, wherever He found them abroad, than from any foreign *Catholicks*; who always received him with all imaginable Duty, whilst his own looked as if They had no Dependance upon him.

him. And so We return to the Parliament after its Adjournment.

THE Parliament, that had been adjourned upon ^{*The Parliament meets again.*} the thirtieth of *July*, met again upon the twentieth of *November*, with the same Zeal and Affection to advance the King's Service. And the King himself came to them upon the same Day They met, and told them, "that He knew that Visit was not of ^{*The King's Speech.*} "Course; yet if there were no more in it, it would "not be strange, that He came to see what He and "They had so long desired to see, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons of *England*, "met together to consult for the Peace and Safety of "the Church and State, by which Parliaments were "restored to their primitive Lustre and Integrity." His Majesty said, "He did heartily congratulate with "them for that Day." But He told them withal, "that He came thither upon another Occasion; "which was to say somewhat to them on his own "Behalf, to ask somewhat of them for himself, which "was more than He had done of them, or of those "who met before them, since his Coming into *England*. Nor did He think, that what He had to "say to them did alone, or did most concern himself: If the uneasy Condition He was in, if the "Streights and Necessities He was to struggle with, "did not manifestly relate to the publick Peace and "Safety, more than to his own Particular, otherwise "than as He was concerned in the Publick, He "would not give them that Trouble that Day; He "could bear his Necessities which merely related to "himself, with Patience enough."

HE told them, "that He did not importune them "to make more Haste in the settling the constant "Revenue of the Crown, than was agreeable to the "Method They had proposed to themselves, nor to "consider the insupportable Weight that lay upon it, "the Obligations it lay under to provide for the Interest, Honour and Security of the Nation, in ano-

"ther Proportion than in any former Times it had
 "been obliged to: His Majesty well knew, that They
 "had very affectionately and worthily taken all that
 "into their Thoughts, and would proceed in it with
 "Expedition: But that He came to put them in
 "Mind of the crying Debts which did every Day
 "call upon him, of some necessary Provisions, which
 "were to be made without Delay for the very Safety
 "of the Kingdom, of the great Sum of Money that
 "should be ready to discharge the several Fleets
 "when they came Home, and for the necessary Pre-
 "parations that were to be made for the setting out
 "new Fleets to Sea against the next Spring. These
 "were the pressing Occasions which He was forced
 "to recommend to them with all possible Earnestness,
 "and He did conjure them to provide for as speedily
 "as was possible, and in such a Manner as might
 "give them Security at Home, and some Reputation
 "abroad." His Majesty said, "that He made this
 "Discourse to them with some Confidence, because
 "He was very willing and desirous that They should
 "thoroughly examine, whether those Necessities which
 "He mentioned were real or imaginary, or whether
 "they were fallen upon him by his own Fault, his
 "own ill Managery, or Excesses, and provide for¹⁴
 "them accordingly. He was very willing that They
 "should make a full Inspection into his Revenue, as
 "well the Disbursements as Receipts; and if They
 "should find that it had been ill managed by any
 "Corruptions in the Officers He trusted, or by his
 "own Unthriftiness, He should take the Advice and
 "Information They should give him very kindly.

He told them, "that He was very sorry that the
 "general Temper and Affections of the Nation were
 "not so well composed, as He hoped they would
 "have been, after so signal Blessings from God Al-
 "mighty upon them all, and after so great Indul-
 "gence and Condescensions from him towards all
 "Interests. But that there were many wicked In-
 "struments

“struments still as active as ever, who laboured Night
 “and Day to disturb the publick Peace, and to make
 “all People jealous of each other : It would be wor-
 “thy their Care and Vigilance to provide proper Re-
 “medies for the Diseases of that Kind ; and if They
 “should find new Diseases, They must study new
 “Remedies. For those Difficulties which concerned
 “Matters in Religion,” his Majesty confessed to them,
 “that They were too hard for him ; and therefore
 “He did recommend them to their Care and Discre-
 “tion, which could best provide for them.”

THE two Houses were abundantly pleased with all that his Majesty had said to them, and immediately betook them to the Consideration of those Particulars, which He had principally recommended to them. And though for the present They looked upon that Clause of his Majesty’s Speech, wherein He referred to them to make an Inspection into his Revenue and his Expenses, but as a generous and princely Condescension, which would not become them to make Use of (nor indeed had They at that Time the least Prejudice to or Jealousy of any, who were of the nearest Trust about his Majesty) ; yet four Years after, when the Expenses had grown to be much greater, and it may be all Disbursements not so warrantable, and when the Factions in Court and Parliament were at a great Height, and Men made Use of publick Pretences to satisfy their private Animosities and Malice, They made Use of that frank Offer of his Majesty, to entitle themselves to make Inquisition into publick and private Receipts and Disbursements, in a very extraordinary Manner never practised before.

LET no Man wonder, that within so little Time as The Reason why the King’s Debts were so great.
 a Year and a Half or very little more after the King’s
 Return, that is, from *May* to *November* in the next
 Year, and after so great Sums of Money raised by
 Acts of Parliament upon the People, his Majesty’s
 Debts could be so crying and importunate, as to

disturb him to that Degree as He expressed. It was never enough understood, that in all that Time He never received from the Parliament more than the seventy thousand Pounds towards his Coronation; nor were the Debts which were now so grievous to him contracted by himself (though it cannot be supposed but that He had contracted Debts himself in that Time): All the Money that had been given and raised had been applied to the Payment of the Land and Sea Forces, and had done neither. Parliaments do seldom make their Computations right, but reckon what They give to be much more than is ever received, and what They are to pay to be as much less than in Truth They owe; so that when all the Money that was collected was paid, there remained still very much due to the Soldiers, and much more to the Seamen: And the Clamour from Both reached the King's Ears, as if They had been levied by his Warrant and for his Service. And his Majesty understood too well, by the Experience of the ill Husbandry of the last Year, when both the Army and the Ships were so long continued in Pay, for Want⁽¹⁴⁶⁾ of Money to disband and pay them off, what the Trouble and Charge would be, if the several Fleets should return before Money was provided to discharge the Seamen; and for that the Clamour would be only upon him.

BUT there was an Expence that He had been engaged in from the Time of his Return, and by which He had contracted a great Debt, of which very few Men could take Notice; nor could the King think fit to discover it, till He had first provided against the Mischief which might have attended the Discovery. It will hardly be believed, that in so warlike an Age, and when the Armies and Fleets of *England* had made more Noise in the World for twenty Years, had fought more Battles at Land and Sea, than all the World had done besides, or any one People had done in any Age before; and when at his Majesty's
Return

Return there remained a hundred Ships at Sea, and an Army of near threescore thousand Men at Land; there should not be in the *Tower of London*, and in all the Stores belonging to the Crown, Fire-Arms enough, nor indeed of any other Kind, to arm three thousand Men; nor Powder and naval Provisions enough to set out five Ships of War.

FROM the Death of *Cromwell*, no Care had been taken for Supplies of any of the Stores. And the Changes which ensued in the Government, and putting out and in new Officers; the Expeditions of *Lambert* against Sir *George Booth*, and afterwards into the *North*; and other Preparations for those Factions and Parties which succeeded each other; and the continual Opportunities which the Officers had for Embezzlement; and lastly, the setting out that Fleet which was sent to attend upon the King for his Return; had so totally drained the Stores of all Kinds, that the Magazines were no better replenished than is mentioned before: Which as soon as his Majesty knew, as He could not be long ignorant of it, the first Care He took was to conceal it, that it might not be known abroad or at Home, in how ill a Posture He was to defend himself against an Enemy. And then He committed the Care of that Province to a noble Person, whom He knew He could not trust too much, and made Sir *William Compton* Master of the Ordnance, and made all the Shifts He could devise for Monies, that the Work might be begun. And hereby insensibly He had contracted a great Debt: And these were Part of the crying Debts, and the necessary Provisions which were to be made without Delay for the very Safety of the Kingdom, which He told the Parliament. And in this He had laboured so effectually, that at the Time when the first *Dutch War* was entered into, all the Stores were more completely supplied and provided for, and the Ships and all naval Provisions in greater Strength and Plenty, than they had ever been in the Reign of

any former King, or in the Time of the Usurper himself.

THAT Part of the King's Speech, of the Distempers in the Nation by the Differences in Religion, which He confessed were too hard for him, and recommended the composing them to their Care and Deliberation, gives me a seasonable Opportunity to enter upon the Relation, how that Affair stood at that Time, and how far the Distractions of those several Factions were from being reconciled, though Episcopacy seemed to be fully restored, and the Bishops to their Votes in Parliament; which had been looked upon as the most sovereign Remedy, to cure, reform or extinguish all those Maladies. The Bishops had spent the Vacation in making such Alterations in the *Book of Common Prayer*, as They thought would make it more grateful to the *dissenting Brethren*, for so the schismatical Party called themselves; and such Additions, as in their Judgments the Temper of the present Time and the past Miscarriages required. It was necessarily to be presented to the Convocation, which is the national Synod of the Church; and that did not sit during the Recess of the Parliament, and so came not together till the End of *November*: Where the Consideration of it took up much Time; all Men offering such Alterations and Additions, as were suitable to their own Fancies, and the Observations which They had made in the Time of Confusion.

Some of the Bishops are against all Alterations in the Liturgy.

THE Bishops were not all of one Mind. Some of them, who had greatest Experience and were in Truth wise Men, thought it best "to restore and confirm the old *Book of Common Prayer*, without any Alterations and Additions; and that it would be the best Vindication the *Liturgy* and Government of the Church could receive, that after so many Scandals and Reproaches cast upon Both, and after a bloody Rebellion and a War of twenty Years raised, as was pretended, principally against Both, and which had prevailed and triumphed in the total Suppression

"and

“and Destruction of Both, they should now be restored to be in all Respects the same they had been before. Whereas any Alterations and Additions (besides the Advantage it might give to the common Adversary, the *Papist*, who would be apt to say that We had reformed and changed our Religion again), would raise new Scruples in the factious and schismatical Party, that was ashamed of all the old Arguments, which had so often been answered, and stood at present exploded in the Judgment of all sober Men; but would recover new Spirits to make new Objections, and complain that the Alterations and Additions are more grievous and burdensome to the Liberty of their Conscience, than those of which They had formerly complained.”

OTHERS, equally grave, of great Learning and unblemished Reputation, pressed earnestly both for the Alterations and Additions; said, “that it was a common Reproach upon the Government of the Church, that it would not depart from the least unnecessary Expression or Word, nor explain the most insignificant Ceremony; which would quiet or remove the Doubts and Jealousies of many conscientious Men, that They did in Truth signify somewhat that was not intended: And therefore since some powerful Men of that troublesome Party had made it their earnest Request, that some such Alterations and Additions might be made, and professed that it would give great Satisfaction to many very good Men; it would be great Pity, now there was a fit Opportunity for it, which had not been in former Times of Clamour, not to gratify them in those small Particulars, which did not make any important Difference from what was before.” It may be there were some, who believed that the Victory and Triumph of the Church would be with the more Lustre, if somewhat were inserted, that might be understood to reflect upon the

Others of them press earnestly for some.
rude

rude and rebellious Behaviour of the late Times, which had been regulated and conducted by that Clergy: And so both Additions and Alterations were made.

*The former
Opinion the
more prudent.*

BUT the Truth is, what Shew of Reason soever and Appearance of Charity the latter Opinion seemed to carry with it, the former Advice was the more prudent, and would have prevented many Inconveniences which ensued. Whatever had been pretended or desired, the Alterations which were made to please them did not reduce one of them to the Obedience of the Church; and the Additions raised the Clamour higher than it had been. And when it was evident that They should not be left longer without a Liturgy, They cried aloud for the same They had before,⁽¹⁴⁾ though They had inveighed against it for near a hundred Years together.

*The unhappy
Policy of
making Con-
cessions to the
Dissenters.*

IT is an unhappy Policy, and always unhappily applied, to imagine that that *Classis* of Men can be recovered or reconciled by partial Concessions, or granting less than They demand. And if all were granted, They would have more to ask, somewhat as a Security for the Enjoyment of what is granted, that shall preserve their Power, and shake the whole Frame of the Government. Their Faction is their Religion: Nor are those Combinations ever entered into upon real and substantial Motives of Conscience how erroneous soever, but consist of many glutinous Materials, of Will, and Humour, and Folly, and Knavery, and Ambition, and Malice, which make Men cling inseparably together, till They have Satisfaction in all their Pretences, or till They are absolutely broken and subdued, which may always be more easily done than the other. And if some few, how signal soever (which often deceives us), are separated and divided from the Herd upon reasonable Overtures, and secret Rewards which make the Overlook the more reasonable; They are but single Men, and have no more Credit and

(whatever They have had) with their Companions, than if They had never known them, rather less; being less mad than They were makes them thought to be less fit to be believed. And They, whom You think You have recovered, carry always a Chagrin about them, which makes them good for Nothing, but for Instances to divert you from any more of that Kind of Traffick.

AND it is very strange, that the Clergy did not at this Time remember what had so lately befallen the poor Church of *Scotland*, upon the Transmission of their *Liturgy*, which had been composed with this very Prospect that now dazzled their Eyes. "To receive a Liturgy from *England* was below the Dignity of that Nation, which were governed by their own Laws, without Dependance upon any other. Besides there were many Errors in that Liturgy that They could never submit to, and some Defects which ought to be supplied; and if such a one should be compiled, in which all those Exceptions, which were well enough known, might be provided for, They would gladly receive it." All this was carefully performed; and what Reception it had afterwards is too well known, and will ever be remembered by the Scars which still remain from those Wounds. And then the great Objection that was most impudently urged was, "that it differed from the Liturgy of the Church of *England*, which They were ready to have received, and would have declared to the World, that the two Nations had but one Religion; whereas the Book sent to them would have manifested the contrary, and was the Product of a few particular Men, to whose Spirit and Humour They would not sacrifice their native Liberty of Conscience."

THEY of the same Fraternity in *England* at this present governed themselves by the same Method, though, God be thanked, not yet with the same Success. And there is great Reason to believe, that the very

*None of the
Dissenters
gained by the
Concessions
now made.*

very Men, who laboured so much for the Alterations which were made, and professed to receive so much Satisfaction in them, did it for no other End, but to procure more Opportunity to continue and enlarge the Contentions; and to gain Excuse and Credit to the ill Things They had done, by the Redress and Reparation that was given them in the Amendment of many Particulars, against which They had always complained. There was not one of them who had used that Importunity and made that Profession, who afterwards was conformable to the Government of¹⁴⁹ the Church, or frequented those Churches where or when the *Liturgy* was used.

*The furious
Preachers af-
fume much
License.*

WHILST the Clergy was busy and solicitous to prepare this Remedy for the present Distempers, the People of all the several Factions in Religion assumed more License than ever They had done. The *Presbyterians* in all their Pulpits inveighed against the *Book of Common Prayer* that They expected, and took the same Liberty to inveigh against the Government of the Church, as They had been accustomed to before the Return of the King; with Reflections upon the Persons of the Bishops, as if They assumed a Jurisdiction that was yet at least suspended. And the other Factions in Religion, as if by Concert, took the same Liberty in their several Congregations. The *Anabaptists* and the *Quakers* made more Noise than ever, and assembled together in greater Numbers, and talked what Reformations They expected in all Particulars. These Insolencies offended the Parliament very much: And the House of Commons expressed much Impatience, that the *Liturgy* was so long in Preparation, that the *Act of Uniformity* might without Delay be passed and published; not without some Insinuations and Reflections, that his Majesty's Candour, and Admission of all Persons to resort to his Presence, and his Condescension to confer with them, had raised their Spirits to an Insolence insupportable; and that Nothing could reduce them to the

the Temper of good Subjects, but the highest Severity.

IT is very true, from the Time of his Majesty's Coming into *England*, He had not been reserved in the Admission of those who had been his greatest Enemies, to his Presence. The Presbyterian Ministers He received with Grace; and did believe that He should work upon them by Persuasions, having been well acquainted with their common Arguments by the Conversation He had had in *Scotland*, and was very able to confute them. The *Independants* had as free Access, both that He might hinder any Conjunction between the other Factions, and because They seemed wholly to depend upon his Majesty's Will and Pleasure, without resorting to the Parliament, in which They had no Confidence; and had rather that Episcopacy should flourish again, than that the *Presbyterians* should govern. The King had always admitted the *Quakers* for his Divertisement and Mirth, because He thought, that of all the Factions They were the most innocent, and had least of Malice in their Natures against his Person and his Government: And it was now too late, though He had a worse Opinion of them all, to restrain them from coming to him, till there should be some Law made to punish them; and therefore He still called upon the Bishops, to cause the *Liturgy* to be expedited in the Convocation. And finding that those Distempers had that Influence upon the House of Commons, that the Displeasure and Jealousy which They conceived from thence did retard their Counsels, and made them less solicitous to advance his Service in the settling his Revenue, They having sate near three Months after their coming together again upon their Adjournment, without making any considerable Progress in it; He sent for the Speaker and the House of Commons to attend him at *Whitehall*, where He spake unto them, though very graciously, in a Style that seemed to have more of Expostulation

*The King
sends for the
House of
Commons to
attend him at
Whitehall.*

lation and Reprehension than They had been accustomed to.

His Speech to them.

HE said, "He spake his Heart to them when
 "He told them, that He did believe, that from the
 "first Institution of Parliaments to that Hour, there
 "had never been a House of Commons fuller of
 "Affection and Duty to their King, than They were
 "to him; never any that was more desirous and solicitous to gratify their King, than They were to
 "oblige him; never a House of Commons, in which⁽¹³⁹⁾
 "there were fewer Persons without a full Measure of
 "Zeal for the Honour and Welfare of the King and
 "Country, than there are in this: In a Word," He
 "said, "He knew most of their Persons and Names,
 "and could never hope to find better Men in their
 "Places. Yet after all this He could not but lament
 "and even complain, that He and They and the
 "Kingdom were yet without that present Fruit and
 "Advantage, which They might reasonably promise
 "themselves from such a Harmony of Affections,
 "and Unity in Resolutions to advance the publick
 "Service, and to provide for the Peace and Security
 "of the Kingdom; that They did not expedite those
 "good Counsels, which were most necessary for Both.
 "He knew not how it came to pass, but for many
 "Weeks past, even since their last Adjournment, private and particular Business had almost thrust the
 "Consideration of the Publick out of Doors; and
 "He did not know that They were nearer the settling
 "his Revenue, than They had been at *Christmas*. He
 "was sure He had communicated his Condition to
 "them without Reserve; what He had coming in,
 "and what his necessary Disbursements were. And"
 "He said "He was exceedingly deceived, if whatever
 "They gave him were any otherwise given to him,
 "than to be issued out for their own Use and Benefit:
 "and if They considered it well, They would find
 "that They were the richer by what They gave,
 "since

“since it was all to be laid out that They might enjoy
“the rest in Peace and Security.”

He said, “He need not put them in Mind of the
“miserable Effects, that had attended the Wants and
“Necessities of the Crown; that He needed not to
“tell them, that there was a Republican Party still
“in the Kingdom, which had the Courage still to
“promise themselves another Revolution: And He
“thought He had as little Need to tell them, that
“the only Way, with God’s Blessing, to disappoint
“their Hopes, and indeed to reduce them from those
“extravagant Hopes and Desires, was, to let them
“see that They had so provided for the Crown, that
“it had wherewithal to support itself, and to secure
“his People; which He was sure was all He desired,
“and desired only for their Preservation. Therefore
“He conjured them by all the Professions of Affec-
“tion which They had made to him, by all the Kind-
“ness which He knew They had for him, that They
“would, after all their Deliberations, betake them-
“selves to some speedy Resolutions, and settle such a
“real and substantial Revenue upon him, as might
“hold some Proportion with the necessary Expenses
“He was at for the Peace and Benefit and Honour of
“the Kingdom; that They who looked for Troubles
“at Home might despair of their Wishes; and that
“our Neighbours abroad, by seeing that all is well
“at Home, might have that Esteem and Value of
“his Majesty, as might secure the Honour and In-
“terest of the Nation, and make the Happiness of
“the Kingdom and of that City once more the Admi-
“ration and Envy of the World.”

He told them, “that He heard that They were
“very zealous for the Church, and very solicitous
“and even jealous that there was not Expedition
“enough used in that Affair: He thanked them for
“it, since He presumed that it proceeded from a
“good Root of Piety and Devotion. But,” He said,
“that He must tell them, that He had the worst
“Luck

“Luck in the World, if after all the Reproaches of
 “being a *Papist* while He was abroad, He was suf-
 “pected to be a *Presbyterian* now He was come Home.
 “He knew They would not take it unkindly, if He
 “told them, that He was as zealous for the Church
 “of *England* as any of them could be, and was enough
 “acquainted with the Enemies of it on all Sides;
 “that He was as much in Love with the *Book of Com-*
 “*mon Prayer* as They could wish, and had Prejudice⁽¹⁵⁾
 “enough to those who did not love it, who He
 “hoped in Time would be better informed, and so
 “change their Minds; and They might be confident,
 “He did as much desire to have an Uniformity set-
 “tled, as any Man amongst them. He prayed them
 “to trust him in that Affair, and promised them to
 “hasten the Dispatch of it with all convenient Speed;
 “They might rely upon him in it.” He said, “He
 “had transmitted the *Book of Common Prayer*, with
 “those Alterations and Additions which had been
 “presented to him by the Convocation, to the House
 “of Peers with his Approbation, that the *Act of Uni-*
 “*formity* might relate to it; so that He presumed
 “that it would shortly be dispatched there: And that
 “when They had done all They could,” He said,
 “the well settling that Affair would require great
 “Prudence and Discretion, and the Absence of all
 “Passion and Precipitation.”

HIS Majesty concluded with assuring them, “that
 “He did promise himself great Fruits from that Con-
 “versation He had with them, and that They would
 “justify the Confidence He had in their Affections,
 “by letting the World see, that They took his Con-
 “cernments to Heart, and were ready to do whatso-
 “ever He desired for the Peace and Welfare of the
 “Kingdom.”

*The Liturgy
 presented to the
 House of Lords
 with the
 King's Con-
 firmation.*

WHEN the *Book of Common Prayer* was, by the King's
 Command, presented to the House of Lords by the
 two Archbishops, (for it had been approved by the
 Convocation of the Province of *York*, as well as by
 that

that of *Canterbury*) confirmed by his Majesty under the Great Seal of *England*; the Book itself took up no Debate: Only the Earl of *Northumberland* proposed, “that the old *Book of Common Prayer* might be “confirmed without any Alteration or Addition, and “then the same *Act of Uniformity*, that had been in “the Time of Queen *Elizabeth*, would be likewise “applied to it; whereas a new Act of Uniformity “might take up much Time and raise much Debate, “all which would be avoided by adhering to the “old.”

WHATEVER that Lord's Opinion was, He was known to be of the Presbyterian Party. And it was answered, “that if that Proposition had been heartily “made when the King came into *England*, it would “have met with a general Approbation, and prevented much Sharpness and Animosity, which had “since arisen by those who opposed that excellent “Form. But after the Clergy had so bitterly inveighed against many Parts thereof, and prevailed “with his Majesty to suspend the Use of it till it “might be revised, as by his Declaration of the five “and twentieth of *October* He had done, and thereupon had granted his Commission under the Great “Seal of *England* to several Bishops and other Divines, “to review the *Book of Common Prayer*, and to prepare “such Alterations and Additions as They thought fit “to offer; and that afterwards his Majesty had been “pleased to authorize the Convocations of Both the “Provinces of *Canterbury* and *York*, called and assembled by his Majesty's Authority, to review the said “*Book of Prayer*, and the *Book of the Form and Manner of the making and consecrating of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons*; and that now after the Bishops and “Clergy of Both Provinces had, upon great Deliberation and upon reviewing those Books, prepared “and consented to some Alterations, and to the Addition of several Prayers to be used upon emergent “Occasions, all which his Majesty had already ratified

"tified and confirmed: It could not but be understood Matter of great Levity and Offence, to reject this Book, that was now with all this Ceremony and Solemnity presented, for no other Reason but because They liked better the old Book, which had been for twenty Years discontinued and rejected."¹¹

And therefore it was moved, "that there might not be such an Affront put upon the Convocation, and upon the King himself." And so with little more publick Contest the Book itself was consented and submitted to.

And consented to by them.

BUT then the *Act of Uniformity* depended long, and took up much Debate in Both Houses. In the House of Peers, where the Act first began, there were many Things inserted, which had not been contained in the former *Act of Uniformity*, and so seemed to carry somewhat of Novelty in them. It admitted "no Person to have any Cure of Souls or any Ecclesiastical Dignity in the Church of *England*, but such who had been or should be ordained Priest or Deacon by some Bishop, that is, who had not Episcopal Ordination; excepting only the Ministers or Pastors of the *French* and *Dutch* Churches in *London* and other Places, allowed by the King, who should enjoy the Privileges They had."

Debates there upon the Act of Uniformity.

THIS was new; for there had been many and at present there were some, who possessed Benefices with Cure of Souls, and other Ecclesiastical Promotions, who had never received Orders but in *France* or in *Holland*; and these Men must now receive new Ordination, which had been always held unlawful in the Church, or by this Act of Parliament must be deprived of their Livelihood, which They enjoyed in the most flourishing and peaceable Time of the Church. And therefore it was said, "that this had not been the Opinion of the Church of *England*; and that it would lay a great Reproach upon all other Protestant Churches who had no Bishops, as if They had no Ministers, and consequently were

Upon the Clause requiring Episcopal Ordination.

"no

“no Churches: For that it was well known the
 “Church of *England* did not allow Reordination, as
 “the ancient Church never admitted it; inasmuch as
 “if any Priest of the Church of *Rome* renounces the
 “Communion thereof, his Ordination is not question-
 “ed, but He is as capable of any Preferment in this
 “Church, as if He had been ordained in it. And
 “therefore the not admitting the Ministers of other
 “*Protestants* to have the same Privilege, can proceed
 “from no other Ground, than that They looked not
 “upon them as Ministers, having no Ordination;
 “which is a Judgment the Church of *England* had
 “not ever owned: And that it would be very impru-
 “dent to do it now.”

To this it was answered, “that the Church of
 “*England* judged none but her own Church, nor
 “did determine that other Protestant Churches were
 “without Ordination. It is a Thing without her
 “Cognizance: And most of the learned Men of
 “those Churches had made Necessity the chief Pillar
 “to support that Ordination of theirs. That Ne-
 “cessity cannot be pleaded here, where Ordination
 “is given according to the unquestionable Practice of
 “the Church of Christ: If They who pretend foreign
 “Ordination are his Majesty’s Subjects, They have
 “no Excuse of Necessity, for They might in all Times
 “have received Episcopal Ordination, and so They
 “did upon the Matter renounce their own Church;
 “if They are Strangers, and pretend to Preferment in
 “this Church, They ought to conform and to be sub-
 “ject to the Laws of the Kingdom, which concern
 “only those who desire to live under the Protection
 “thereof. For the Argument of Reordination, there
 “is no such Thing required. Rebaptization is not
 “allowed in or by any Church: Yet in all Churches
 “where it is doubted, as it may be often with very
 “good Reason, whether the Person hath been bap-
 “tized or no, or if it hath been baptized by a Mid-
 “wife or lay Person; without determining the Vali-
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The Continuation of the Life of

"dity or Invalidity of such Baptism, there is an hypothetical Form, *If thou hast not been already baptized, I do baptize, &c.* So in this Case of Ordination, the Form may be the same, *If Thou hast not been already ordained, then I do ordain, &c.* If his former Ordination were good, this is void; if the other was invalid or defective, He hath Reason to be glad that it be thus supplied." After much Debate, that Clause remained still in the Act: And very many who had received Presbyterian Orders in the late Times, came very willingly to be ordained in the Manner aforesaid by a Bishop; and very few chose to quit or lose a Parsonage or Vicarage of any Value upon that Scruple.

A Clamour afterwards raised about the Clause of Assent and Consent.

THERE was another Clause in the Bill, that made very much more Noise afterwards, though for the present it took not up so much Time, and in Truth was little taken Notice of: That is, a Form of Subscription that every Man was to make, who had received, or before He received, any Benefice or Preferment in the Church; which comprehended all the Governours, Superiours and Fellows, in all the Colleges and Halls of either University, and all Schoolmasters and the like, who are subservient towards Learning. Every such Person was to declare "his unfeigned Assent and Consent to all and every Thing contained and prescribed in and by the Book, entitled *The Book of Common Prayer, &c.*" The Subscription was generally thought so reasonable, that it scarce met with any Opposition in either House. But when it came abroad, and was to be submitted to, all the dissenting Brethren cried out, "that it was a Snare to catch them, to say that which could not consist with their Consciences." They took great Pains to distinguish and to make great Difference between *Assent* and *Consent*: "They could be content to read the Book in the Manner They were obliged to do, which shewed their Consent; but declaring their unfeigned Assent to every Thing
"con-

"contained and prescribed therein would imply, that
 "They were so fully convinced in their Judgments,
 "as to think that it was so perfect, that Nothing
 "therein could be amended, which for their Part
 "They thought there might. That there were many
 "Expressions in the *Rubrick*, which They were not
 "bound to read; yet by this Assent They declared
 "their Approbation thereof." But after many tedious
 Discourses of this tyrannical Imposition, They grew
 by Degrees ashamed of it; and were persuaded to
 think, that *Assent* and *Consent* had so near the same
 Signification, that They could hardly consent to do
 what They did not assent to: So that the chiefest
 amongst them, to avoid a very little Inconvenience,
 subscribed the same.

BUT there was shortly after another Clause added, The Bill passed by the Lords.
 that gave them Trouble indeed. When the Bill had
 passed the Lords House, it was sent of Course to the
 Commons; where though all the Factions in Reli-
 gion had too many Friends, for the most contrary
 and opposite one to another always were united and
 reconciled against the Church, yet They who were
 zealous for the Government, and who hated all the
 other Factions at least enough, were very much su-
 perior in Number and in Reputation. And the Bill
 was no sooner read there, than every Man according
 to his Passion thought of adding somewhat to it, that
 might make it more grievous to Somebody whom
 He did not love; which made the Discourses tedious
 and vehement and full of Animosity. And at last
 They agreed upon a Clause, which contained another Amendments made by the House of Commons.
 Subscription and Declaration, which every Man was
 to make before He could be admitted into any Bene-
 fice or Ecclesiastical Promotion, or to be a Governour
 or Fellow in either of the Universities. He must first
 declare, "that it is not lawful, upon any Pretence
 "whatsoever, to take Arms against the King; and
 "that He doth abhor that traiterous Position of taking
 "Arms by his Authority against his Person, or against
 "those

“those that are commissioned by him; and that He⁽¹⁵⁴⁾ will conform to the *Liturgy* of the Church of *England*, as it is now by Law established.” And He doth declare, “that He doth hold there lies no Obligation upon him, or on any other Person, from the Oath commonly called *The solemn League and Covenant*, to endeavour any Change or Alteration of Government, either in Church or State; and that the same was in itself an unlawful Oath, and imposed upon the Subjects of this Realm, against the known Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom;” with some other Clauses, which need not be mentioned because they were afterwards left out. And with this Addition, and some other Alterations, They returned the Bill again to the Lords for their Approbation.

The Bill returned to the Lords.

THE framing and forming this Clause had taken up very much Time, and raised no less Passion in the House of Commons: And now it came among the Lords, it was not less troublesome. It added to the Displeasure and Jealousy against the Bishops, by whom it was thought to be prepared, and commended to their Party in the lower House. Many Lords, who had taken the *Covenant*, were not so much concerned that the Clergy (for whom only this Act was prepared) should be obliged to make this Declaration; but apprehended more, that when such a Clause should be once passed in one Act of Parliament, it could not after be disputed, and so would be inserted into all other Acts which related to the Function of any other Offices, and so would in a short Time be required of themselves. And therefore They opposed it warmly

Debates upon the Amendments made by the Commons.

“as a Thing unnecessary, and which would widen the Breach, instead of closing up the Wounds that had been made; which the King had made it his Business to do, and the Parliament had hitherto concurred with his Majesty in that Endeavour. That many Men would believe or fear (which in such a Case is the same), that this Clause might prove a Breach of the *Act of Indemnity*, which had

“not

"not only provided against Indictments and Suits at
 "Law and Penalties, but against Reproaches for
 "what was past, which this Clause would be under-
 "stood to give new Life to. For what concerned the
 "Conformity to the *Liturgy* of the Church as it is
 "now established, it is provided for as fully in the
 "former Subscription in this Act, and therefore is
 "impertinent in this Place. That the *Covenant* con-
 "tained many good Things in it, as defending the
 "King's Person, and maintaining the Protestant Re-
 "ligion: And therefore to say that there lies no Ob-
 "ligation from it, would never be for the Service of
 "the King or the Interest of the Church; especially
 "since it was well known, that it had wrought upon
 "the Conscience of many to serve the King in the late
 "Revolution, from which his Majesty had received
 "great Advantage. However it was now dead, the
 "Men were absolved from taking it, nor could it be
 "imposed or offered to any Man without Punishment;
 "and They, who had in the ill Times been forced to
 "take it, did now inviolably and cheerfully perform
 "all the Duties of Allegiance and Fidelity to his
 "Majesty. If it had at any Time produced any
 "Good, that was an Excuse for the Irregularity of
 "it: It could do no Mischief for the future; and
 "therefore that it was Time to bury it in Obliv-
 "vion."

MANY Men believed, that though They insisted
 principally on that Part which related to the *Covenant*,
 They were in Truth more afflicted with the first
 Part; in which it was declared, "that it was not
 "lawful, upon any Pretence whatsoever, to take Arms
 "against the King; and that He doth abhor that
 "traiterous Position of taking Arms by his Autho-
 "rity against his Person:" Which Conclusions had
 been the Principles which supported their Rebellion,
 and by which They had imposed upon the People,
 and got their Concurrence. They durst not oppose
 this, because the Parliament had already by a former
 Act

Act declared the Law to be so in those Particulars : Yet this went much nearer to them, that by their own particular Declaration (for They looked upon it as that which in a short Time must be their own), They should upon the Matter confess themselves to have been Traitors, which They had not yet been declared to have been ; and no Man could now justify the calling them so.

THEY who were most solicitous that the House should concur with the Commons in this Addition, had Fieldroom enough to expatiate upon the gross Iniquity of the *Covenant*. They made themselves very merry with the Allegation, "that the King's Safety and the Interest of the Church were provided for by the *Covenant*, when it had been therefore entered into, to fight against the King and to destroy the Church. That there was no one lawful or honest Clause in the *Covenant*, that was not destroyed or made of no Signification by the next that succeeded ; and if it were not, the same Obligation was better provided for by some other Oaths, which the same Men had or ought to have taken, and which ought to have restrained them from taking the *Covenant* : And therefore it may justly be pronounced that there is no Obligation upon any Man from thence. That there was no Breach of the *Act of Indemnity*, nor any Reproach upon any Man for having taken it, except what would result from his own Conscience. But that it was most absolutely necessary for the Safety of the King's Person, and the Peace of the Kingdom, that They who had taken it should declare, that They do not believe themselves to be bound by it : Otherwise They may still think, that They may fight against the King, and must conspire the Destruction of the Church. And They cannot take too much Care, or use too much Diligence, to discover who are of that Opinion ; that They may be strictly looked unto, and restrained from doing that which They

" take

“take themselves obliged to do. That the *Covenant*
 “is not dead, as was alleged, but still retains great
 “Vigour; was still the Idol to which the *Presbyterians*
 “sacrificed: And that there must and would always
 “be a general Jealousy of all those who had taken it,
 “untill They had declared that it did not bind them;
 “especially of the Clergy, who had so often enlarged
 “in their Pulpits, how absolutely and indispensably
 “all Men were obliged to prosecute the End of it,
 “which is to destroy the Church, whatever Danger
 “it brings the King’s Person to. And therefore
 “They of all Men ought to be glad of this Oppor-
 “tunity, that was offered, to vindicate their Loyalty
 “and Obedience; and if They were not ready to do
 “so, They were not fit to be trusted with the Charge
 “and Care of the Souls of the King’s Subjects.”

AND in Truth there were not any more importu- The Lords con-
sent to most of
the Amend-
ments.
 nate for the enjoining this Declaration, than many
 who had taken the *Covenant*. Many who had never
 taken it, and had always detested it, and paid soundly
 for being known to do so, were yet very sorry that it
 was inserted at this Time and in this Place; for They
 foresaw it would make Divisions, and keep up the
 several Factions, which would have been much weak-
 ened, and in a short Time brought to Nothing, if
 the *Presbyterians* had been separated from the rest, who
 did perfectly hate and were as perfectly hated by all
 the rest. But since it was brought upon the Stage,
 and it had been the Subject of so much Debate, They
 believed the House of Lords could not now refuse to
 concur with the Commons, without undergoing some
 Reproach and Scandal of not having an ill Opinion
 156) enough of the *Covenant*; of which as They were in no
 Degree guilty, so They thought it to be of mischie-
 vous Consequence to be suspected to be so. And
 therefore, after They had expunged some other Parts
 of that Subscription which had been annexed to it, and
 mended some other Expressions in other Places, which
 might rather irritate than compose those Humours
 which

*The Commons
agree with
the Lords.*

which already boiled too much, They returned the Bill to the House of Commons; which submitted to all that They had done: And so it was presented to the King, who could not well refuse his Royal Assent, nor did in his own Judgment or Inclination dislike what was offered to him.

*The King con-
firms the Bill.*

By this *Act of Uniformity* there was an End put to all the Liberty and License, which had been practised in all Churches from the Time of his Majesty's Return, and by his Declaration that He had emitted afterwards. The *Common Prayer* must now be constantly read in all Churches, and no other Form admitted: And what Clergyman soever did not fully conform to whatsoever was contained in that Book, or enjoined by the *Act of Uniformity*, by or before *St. Bartholomew-Day*, which was about three Months after the Act was published; He was *ipso facto* deprived of his Benefice, or any other spiritual Promotion of which He stood possessed, and the Patron was to present another in his Place, as if He were dead: So that it was not in the King's Power to give any Dispensation to any Man, that could preserve him against the Penalty in the *Act of Uniformity*.

*The Presbyter-
ian Ministers
complain of
the King's
Violation of
his Declara-
tion.*

THIS Act was no sooner published (for I am willing to continue this Relation to the Execution of it, because there were some intervening Accidents that were not understood), than all the Presbyterian Ministers expressed their Disapprobation of it with all the Passion imaginable. They complained "that the King had violated his Promise made to them in his Declaration from *Breda*," which was urged with great Uningenuity, and without any Shadow of Right; for his Majesty had thereby referred the whole Settlement of all Things relating to Religion, to the Wisdom of Parliament; and declared, "in the mean Time that Nobody should be punished or questioned, for continuing the Exercise of his Religion in the Way He had been accustomed to in the late Confusions." And his Majesty had continued this Indulgence by his
Decla-

Declaration after his Return, and thereby fully complied with his Promise from *Breda*; which He should indeed have violated, if He had now refused to concur in the Settlement the Parliament had agreed upon, being in Truth no less obliged to concur with the Parliament in the Settlement that the Parliament should propose to him, than He was not to cause any Man to be punished for not obeying the former Laws, till a new Settlement should be made. But how evident soever this Truth is, They would not acknowledge it; but armed their Proselytes with confident Assertions, and unnatural Interpretations of the Words in the King's Declaration, as if the King were bound to grant Liberty of Conscience, whatever the Parliament should or should not desire, that is, to leave all Men to live according to their own Humours and Appetites, let what Laws soever be made to the contrary. They declared "that They could not with a good Conscience either subscribe the one or the other Declaration: They could not say that They did assent or consent in the first, nor declare in the second that there remained no Obligation from the *Covenant*; and therefore that They were all resolved to quit their Livings, and to depend upon Providence for their Subsistence."

THERE cannot be a better Evidence of the general Affection of the Kingdom, than that this Act of Parliament had so concurrent an Approbation of the two Houses of Parliament, after a Suppression of that
 17) Form of Devotion for near twenty Years, and the highest Discountenance and Oppression of all those who were known to be devoted or affected to it. And from the Time of the King's Return, when it was lawful to use it, though it was not enjoined, Persons of all Conditions flocked to those Churches where it was used. And it was by very many sober Men believed, that if the *Presbyterians* and the other Factions in Religion had been only permitted to exercise their own Ways, without any Countenance from the Court;
 the

*The Act in
general well
received.*

the Heart of all the Factions against the Church would have been broken, before the Parliament did so fully declare itself.

*Reflections on
the Behaviour
of the Presby-
terian Minis-
ters.*

AND there cannot be a greater Manifestation of the Distemper and License of the Time, that the Presumption of those Presbyterian Ministers, in the opposing and contradicting an Act of Parliament; when there was scarce a Man in that Number, who had not been so great a Promoter of the Rebellion, or contributed so much to it, that They had no other Title to their Lives but by the King's Mercy; and there were very few amongst them, who had not come into the Possession of the Churches They now held, by the Expulsion of the Orthodox Ministers who were lawfully possessed of them, and who being by their Imprisonment, Poverty, and other Kinds of Oppression and Contempt during so many Years, departed this Life, the Usurpers remained undisturbed in their Livings, and thought it now the highest Tyranny to be removed from them, though for offending the Law, and Disobedience to the Government. That those Men should give themselves an Act of Oblivion of all their Transgressions and Wickedness, and take upon them again to pretend a Liberty of Conscience against the Government, which They had once overthrown upon their Pretences; was such an Impudence, as could not have fallen into the Hearts even of those Men from the Stock of their own Malice, without some great Defect in the Government, and Encouragement or Countenance from the highest Powers. The King's too gracious Disposition and easiness of Access, as hath been said before, had from the Beginning raised their Hopes and dispelled their Fears; whilst his Majesty promised himself a great Harvest in their Conversion, by his Gentleness and Affability. And They insinuated themselves by a Profession, "that it was more the Regard of his Service, than any Obstinacy in themselves, which kept them from Conformity to what the Law had enjoined; that

" They

"They might still preserve their Credit with their Parishioners, and by Degrees bring them to a perfect Obedience." Whereas indeed all the Corruption was in the Clergy; and where a prudent and Orthodox Man was in the Pulpit, the People very willingly heard the *Common Prayer*.

NOR did this Confidence leave them, after the passing and publishing this *Act of Uniformity*: But the *London* Ministers, who had the Government of those in the Country, prevailed with the General (who without any violent Inclinations of his own was always ready for his Wife's Sake) to bring them to the King, who always received them with too much Clemency, and dismissed them with too much Hope. They lamented "the Sadness of their Condition, which (after having done so much Service to his Majesty, and been so graciously promised by him his Protection) must now be exposed to all Misery and Famine." They told him "what a vast Number of Churches" (five Times more than was true) "would become void by this Act, which would not prove for his Service; and that They much feared, the People would not continue as quiet and peaceable as They had been under their Oversight." They used all the Arguments They thought might work upon him: And He seemed to be the more ¹⁷⁸⁾ moved, because He knew that it was not in his Power to help them. He told them, "He had great Compassion for them; and was heartily sorry that the Parliament had been so severe towards them, which He would remit, if it were in his Power; and therefore that They should advise with their Friends, and that if They found that it would be in his Power to give them any Ease, They should find him inclined to gratify them in whatsoever They desired:" Which gracious Expressions raised their Spirits as high as ever; and They reported to their Friends much more than in Truth the King had said to them (which was no new Artifice with them), and advised

*They have too
free Access to
the King.*

advised their Friends in all Parts "to be firm to their Principles," and assured them, "that the Rigour of the Act of Parliament should not be pressed against them."

It cannot be denied, that the King was too irresolute, and apt to be shaken in those Counsels which with the greatest Deliberation He had concluded, by too easily permitting or at least not restraining any Men who waited upon him, or were present with him in his Recesses, to examine and censure what was resolved; an Infirmary that brought him many Troubles, and exposed his Ministers to Ruin: Though in his Nature, Judgment and Inclinations He did detest the *Presbyterians*; and by the Experience He had of their Faculties, Pride and Insolence in *Scotland*, had brought from thence such an Abhorrence of them, that for their Sakes He thought better of any of the other Factions. Nor had He any Kindness for any Person whom He suspected to adhere to them: For the Lord *Lautherdale* took all Pains to be thought no *Presbyterian*; and pleased himself better with no Humour, than laughing at that People, and telling ridiculous Stories of their Folly and foul Corruptions. Yet the King, from the Opinion He had of their great Power to do him Good or Harm, which was oftentimes unskilfully insinuated to him by Men who He knew were not of their Party, but were really deceived themselves by a wrong Computation and Estimate of their Interest, was not willing to be thought an Enemy to them. And there were too many bold Speakers about the Court too often admitted into his Presence, who being without any Sense of Religion, thought all rather ought to be permitted, than to undergo any Trouble and Disturbance on the Behalf of any one.

THE continued Address and Importunity of these Ministers, as *St. Bartholomew's Day* approached nearer, more disquieted the King. They enlarged with many Words "on the great Joy that They and all their
" Friends

"Friends had received, from the Compassion his
 "Majesty so graciously had expressed on their Behalf,
 "which They would never forget, or forfeit by any
 "undutiful Carriage." They confessed "that They
 "found, upon Conference with their Friends who
 "wished them well, and upon Perusal of the Act of
 "Parliament, that it was not in his Majesty's Power
 "to give them so much Protection against the Penalty
 "of the Act of Parliament, as They had hoped, and
 "as his great Goodness was inclined to give them.
 "But that it would be an unspeakable Comfort to
 "them, if his Majesty's Grace towards them were so
 "manifested, that the People might discern that this
 "extreme Rigour was not grateful to him, but that
 "He could be well content if it were for some Time
 "suspended; and therefore They were humble Suitors
 "to him, that He would by his Letters to the Bishops,
 "or by a Proclamation, or an Act of Council, or any
 "other Way his Majesty should think fit, publish his
 "Desire that the Execution of the *Act of Uniformity*,
 "as to all but the Reading of the *Liturgy*, which
 "They would conform to, might be suspended for
 179) "three Months; and that He would take it well
 "from the Bishops or any of the Patrons, who would
 "so far comply with his Desire, as not to take any
 "Advantage of those Clauses in the Statute, which
 "gave them Authority to present as in a Vacancy.
 "They doubted not there would be many, who would
 "willingly submit to his Majesty's Pleasure: But
 "whatever the Effect should be, They would pay the
 "same humble Acknowledgements to his Majesty, as
 "if it had produced all that They desired."

WHETHER his Majesty thought it would do them
 no Good, and therefore that it was no Matter if He
 granted it; or that He thought it no Prejudice to
 the Church, if the Act were suspended for three
 Months; or that He was willing to redeem himself
 from the present Importunity (an Infirmary He was
 too often guilty of): True it is, He did make them
 a posi-

*The King
promises to
suspend the
Execution of
the Act.*

a positive Promise, "that He would do what They "desired;" with which They were abundantly satisfied, and renewed their Encouragement to their Friends "to persevere to the End." And this Promise was solemnly given to them in the Presence of the General, who was to solicit the King's Dispatch, that his Pleasure might be known in due Time. It was now the long Vacation, and few of the Council were then in Town, or of the Bishops, with whom his Majesty too late thought it necessary to confer, that such an Instrument might be prepared as was fit for the Affair. Hereupon the King told the Chancellor (who was not thought Friend enough to the *Presbyterians* to be sooner communicated with) all that had passed, what the Ministers had desired, and what He had promised; and bade him "to think of the best Way of doing it."

THE Chancellor was one of those, who would have been glad that the Act had not been clogged with many of those Clauses, which He foresaw might produce some Inconveniences; but when it was passed, He thought it absolutely necessary to see Obedience paid to it without any Contrivance: And therefore, as He had always dissuaded the King from giving so much Countenance to those Applications, which He always knew published more to be said than in Truth was ever spoken, and was the more troubled for this Progress They had made with the King; He told his Majesty, "that it was not in his Power to pre-
"serve those Men, who did not submit to do all that
"was to be done by the Act, from Deprivation."
He gave many Reasons which occurred, why "such
"a Declaration as was desired would prove ineffectual
"to the End for which it was desired, and what In-
"conveniences would result from attempting it."
His Majesty alleged many Reasons for the doing it, which He had received from those who desired it, and seemed sorry that they were no better; however concluded, "that He had engaged his Word, and
"that

"that He would perform what He had promised;" and required him not to oppose it. The Chancellor had always been very tender of his Honour; and advised him "to be very wary in making any Promise, "but when He had made it, to perform it though "to his Disadvantage:" And it was no new Thing to him, to be reproached for opposing the resolving to do such or such a Thing, and then to be reproached again for pursuing the Resolution.

THE King was at *Hampton-Court*, and sent for the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Bishops of *London* and of *Winchester*, to attend him, with the Chief Justice *Bridgman*, and the Attorney General: There were likewise the Chancellor, the General, the Duke of *Ormond*, and the Secretaries. His Majesty acquainted them with "the Importunities used by the *London* "Ministers, and the Reasons They had offered why "a further Time should be given to them to consider "of what was so new to them; and what Answer
(60) "He had given to them; and how They had renewed their Importunity with a Desire of such a "Declaration from him as is mentioned before, in "which He thought there was no Inconvenience, "and therefore had promised to do it, and called *He endeavours*
"them now together to advise of the best Way of *to fulfil his*
"doing it." The Bishops were very much troubled, *Promise.*
that those Fellows should still presume to give his Majesty so much Vexation, and that They should have such Attacks to him. They gave such Arguments against the doing what was desired, as could not be answered; and for themselves, They desired "to be "excused for not conniving in any Degree at the "Breach of the Act of Parliament, either by not presenting a Clerk where themselves were Patrons, or "deferring to give Institution upon the Presentation "of others: And that his Majesty's giving such a "Declaration or Recommendation would be the greatest Wound to the Church, and to the Government "thereof, that it could receive."

THE

The Continuation of the Life of

THE Chancellor, who did really believe that the King and his Service would suffer more by the Breach of his Word and Promise, than either could do from doing the Thing desired, confessed "that He believed it would do them little Good, which would not be imputed to his Majesty, when He had done all He could do; and that it would be a greater Concomity, if the Ministers generally performed what They offered to do, in reading all the Service of the Church, than had been these many Years; and that once having done what was known to be so contrary to their Inclinations, would be an Engagement upon them in a short Time to comply with the rest of their Obligations: And therefore," He said, "He should not dissuade his Majesty from doing what He had promised;" which indeed He had good Reason to think He was resolved to do, whatever He was advised to the contrary. The King demanded the Judgment of the Lawyers, "whether He could legally dispense with the Observation of the Act for three Months; who answered, "that notwithstanding any Thing He could do in their Favour, the Patrons might present their Clerk as if the Incumbents were dead, upon their Not-performance of what They were enjoined." Upon the whole Matter the King was converted; and with great Bitterness against that People in general, and against the particular Persons whom He had always received too graciously, concluded that He would not do what was desired, and that the Connivance should not be given to any of them.

*But finds it
not in his
Power.*

THE Bishops departed full of Satisfaction with the King's Resolution, and as unsatisfied with their Friend the Chancellor's Inclination to gratify that People, not knowing the Engagement that was upon him. And this Jealousy produced a greater Coldness from some of them towards him, and a greater Resentment from him, who thought He had deserved better from their Function and their Persons, than was in a long Time,

Time, if ever, perfectly reconciled. Yet He never declined in the least Degree his Zeal for the Government of the Church, or the Interest of those Persons; nor thought They could be blamed for their Severity against those Ministers, who were surely the proudest Malefactors, and the most incapable of being gently treated, of any Men living. For if any of the Bishops used them kindly, and endeavoured to persuade them to Conformity, They reported "that They had been "caressed and flattered by the Bishops, and offered "great Preferments, which They had bravely refused "to accept for the Preservation of a good Conscience: And in Reports of this Kind, few of them ever observed any Rules of Ingenuity or Sincerity.

- (61) WHEN They saw that They were to expect and undergo the worst, They agreed upon a Method to be observed by them in the leaving and parting with their Pulpits: And the last *Sunday* They were to preach, They endeavoured to infuse Murmur, Jealousy and Sedition into the Hearts of their several Auditories; and to prepare them "to expect and bear "with Patience and Courage all the Persecutions "which were like to follow, now the Light of the "Gospel was so near being extinguished." And all those Sermons They called their Farewel Sermons, and caused to be printed together, with every one of the Preachers Pictures before their Sermons; which in Truth contained all the Vanity and Ostentation with Reference to themselves, and all the Insinuations to Mutiny and Rebellion, that could be warily couched in Words which could not be brought within Penalty of Law, though their Meaning was well understood.

WHEN the Time was expired, better Men were put into their Churches, though with much murmuring of some of their Parishes for a Time, increased by their loud Clamour, "that They had been "betrayed by the King's Promise that They should

“have three Months longer Time:” Which drew the like Clamour upon them by those, who had hearkened to their Advice in continuing their Obstinacy in Confidence of a Dispensation; whereas otherwise They would have conformed, as very many of their Party did. And many of the other who were cozened by them, and so lost the Livings They had, made all the Haste They could to make themselves capable of getting others, by as full Subscriptions and Conformity as the *Act of Uniformity* required. And the greatest of them, after some Time, and after They found that the private Bounty and Donatives, which at first flowed in upon them in Compassion of their Sufferings and to keep up their Courages, every Day began to slacken, and would in the End expire, subscribed to those very Declarations, which They had urged as the greatest Motives to their Nonconformity. And the Number was very small, and of very weak and inconsiderable Men, that continued refractory, and received no Charge in the Church: Though it may without Breach of Charity be believed, that many who did subscribe had the same Malignity to the Church, and to the Government of it; and it may be did more Harm, than if They had continued in their Inconformity.

*As many of them con-
form.*

*Great Animosi-
ties in Par-
liament about
private Bills.*

THE long Time spent in Both Houses upon the *Act of Uniformity* had made the Progress of all other publick Business much the slower; or rather, the Multitude of private Bills which depended there (and with which former Parliaments had been very rarely troubled), and the Bitterness and Animosities which arose from thence, exceedingly disquieted and discomposed the House; every Man being so much concerned for the Interest of his Friends or Allies, that He was more solicitous for the Dispatch of those, than of any which related to the King and the Publick, which He knew would by a general Concurrence be all passed before the Session should be made; whereas if the other should be deferred, the Session would quickly fol-

follow (which the King by frequent Messages desired to hasten, having received News already of the Queen's having been at Sea many Days), and the Benefit of those Pretences would be lost, and with greater Difficulty be recovered in a succeeding Session. Then as those private Bills were for the particular Benefit and Advantage of some Persons, which engaged all their Friends to be very solicitous for their Dispatch; so for the most Part they were to the Loss and Damage of other Persons, who likewise called in Aid of all their Friends to prevent the Houses Consent: And by this Means so many Factions were kindled in Both Houses, between those who drove on the Interest of
(62) their own or of their Relations, who mutually looked upon one another as Enemies, and against those who for Justice and the Dignity of Parliament would have rejected all or most of the Addresses of that Kind; that in most Debates which related to neither, the Custom of Contradiction, and the Aversion to Persons, very much disturbed and prolonged all Dispatch.

It cannot be denied, that after a civil War of so many Years, prosecuted with that Height of Malice and Revenge, so many Houses plundered and so many burned, in which the Evidences of many Estates were totally destroyed, and as many by the unskilful Providence of others, who in Order to preserve them had buried their Writings so unwarily under Ground, that they were taken up so defaced or rotted, that they could not be pleaded in any Court of Justice; many who had followed the King in the War, and so made themselves liable to those Penalties which the Parliament had prepared for them and subjected them to, had made many feigned Conveyances, with such Limitations and so absolutely (that no Trust might be discovered by those who had Power to avoid it) that they were indeed too absolute to be avoided by themselves, and their Estates become so much out of their own Disposal, that They could neither apply them to

the Payment of their just Debts, or to the Provision for their Children: I say, there were many such Cases, which could be no other Way provided for but by an Act of Parliament, and to which an Act of Parliament without too much Severity and Rigour could not be denied. And against any of those there appeared none or very little Opposition to be made.

BUT the Example and Precedent of such drew with them a World of unreasonable Pretences; and They, who were not in a Condition to receive Relief in any Court of Justice, thought They had a Ground to appeal to Parliament. They who had been compelled, for raising the Money They were forced to pay for their Delinquency, to sell Land, and could not sell it but at a very low Value (for it was one Species of the Oppression of that Time, that when a powerful Man had an Aspect upon the Land of any Man who was to compound, and so in View like to sell it, no other Man would offer any Money for it, so that He was sure at last to have it upon his own Price); now all that monstrous Power was vanished, They who had made those unthrifty Bargains and Sales, though with all the Formalities of Law, by Fines and Recoveries and the like (which is all the Security that can be given upon a Purchase), especially if the Purchaser was of an ill Name, came with all imaginable Confidence to the Parliament, to have their Land restored to them. Every Man had raised an Equity in his own Imagination, that He thought ought to prevail against any Descent, Testament or Act of Law; and that whatever any Man had been brought to do, which common Reason would make manifest that He would never have done if He could have chosen, was Argument sufficient of such a Force, and ought to find Relief in Parliament, from the unbounded Equity They were Masters of and could dispense, whatever Formalities of Law had preceded or accompanied the Transaction. And whoever opposed those extravagant Notions, which sometimes deprived
Men

Men of the Benefit of the *Act of Oblivion*, was thought to be without Justice, or which to them was worie, to be without any Kindness to the King's Party. And without Question, upon those Motives or others as unreasonable, many Acts were passed of very ill Example, and which many Men were scandalized at in the present, and Posterity will more censure hereafter, when Infants who were then unborn shall find themselves disinherited of those Estates, which their Ancestors had carefully provided should descend to them; upon which Irregularities the King made Reflection when He made the Session.

BUT notwithstanding all these Incongruities, and the Indispositions which attended them, They performed all those Respects towards the King, which He did or could expect from them; there being scarce a Man, who opposed the granting any Thing that was proposed for the Benefit of his Majesty, or the Greatness of the Crown: And though some of the Particulars mentioned before did sometimes intervene, to hinder and defer the present Resolutions and Conclusions in those Counsels, the Resolutions and Conclusions in a short Time after succeeded according to the King's Wish. The Militia and many other Regalities were declared and settled according to the original Sense of the Law, and the Authority of the Crown vindicated to the Height it had been at upon the Heads of the greatest Kings who had ever reigned in the Nation. Monies were raised by several Bills, sufficient as They conceived to have paid all the Debts the King or the Kingdom owed; for in their Computations They comprehended the Debts that were owing before his Majesty's Return, and for which the publick Faith had been engaged: And if as much had been paid as They conceived They had given, probably it might have been enough to have discharged all those. They settled a constant Revenue upon the Crown, which according to the Estimate They made would amount to the yearly Revenue

The Parliament proceeds with great Duty towards the King.

of twelve hundred thousand Pounds, a Proportion double to what it was in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, and it may be of any King preceding; and declared "that if it did not amount to that full Value, "They would supply it at another Meeting." And though it hath not in Truth amounted to that Sum in his Majesty's Receipts, the Parliament hath imputed it rather to ill Managery, and letting Farms at too easy Rates, than to an Error in their Computation. For the present, it was looked upon by the King and by his Ministers as answerable to his Expectation. And so, upon Notice of the Queen's being upon the Coast, and afterwards of her Arrival at *Portsmouth*, the King appointed the Houses to present all their Bills to him upon the nineteenth of *May* for his Royal Assent, it being few Days above a Year from the Time of their being first convened.

*The King's
Speech to the
Parliament.*

WHEN the King came to the Parliament, and They had presented the great Number of Bills which They had prepared, and after He had given his Royal Assent to most of them, his Majesty told them, "that He thought there had been very few Sessions "of Parliament, in which there had been so many "Bills, as He had passed that Day: He was confident, never so many private Bills, which He "hoped They would not draw into Example. It "was true," He said, "the late ill Times had driven "Men into great Streights, and might have obliged "them to make Conveyances colourably, to avoid "Inconveniences, and yet not afterwards to be avoided; and Men had gotten Estates by new and greater "Frauds than had been heretofore practised; and "therefore in this Conjunction extraordinary Remedies might be necessary, which had induced him to "comply with their Advice in passing those Bills; "but He prayed them that this should be rarely done "hereafter: That the good old Rules of the Law "are the best Security;" and He wished "that Men "might not have too much Cause to fear, that the
"Set-

“Settlements which They make of their Estates shall
 “be too easily unsettled, when They are dead, by the
 “Power of Parliament.”

He said, “They had too much obliged him, not
 “only in the Matter of those Bills which concerned
 “his Revenue, but in the Manner of passing them,
 “with so great Affection and Kindness, that He knew
 164) “not how to thank them enough. He did assure
 “them, and prayed them to assure their Friends in
 “the Country, that He would apply all that They
 “had given to him, to the utmost Improvement of
 “the Peace and Happiness of the Kingdom; and
 “that He would, with the best Advice and good
 “Husbandry He could, bring his own Expenses
 “within a narrower Compass.” And He said, “now
 “He was speaking to them of his own good Hus-
 “bandry, He must tell them, that would not be
 “enough; He could not but observe, that the whole
 “Nation seemed to him a little corrupted in their
 “Excess of Living. All Men spend much more in
 “their Cloaths, in their Diet, in all their Expenses,
 “than They had used to do. He hoped it had only
 “been the Excess of Joy after so long Sufferings,
 “that had transported him and them to those other
 “Excesses; but,” He desired them, “that They
 “might all take Heed that the Continuance of them
 “did not indeed corrupt their Natures. He did be-
 “lieve that He had been that Way very faulty him-
 “self: He promised that He would reform, and that
 “if They would join with him in their several Ca-
 “pacities, They would by their Examples do more
 “Good both in City and Country, than any new
 “Laws would do.” He said many other good Things
 that pleased them, and no Doubt He intended all He
 said; but the Ways and Expedients towards good
 Husbandry were no where pursued.

THE Chancellor, by the King's Command, en-
 larged upon “the general Murmurs upon the Ex-
 pense, and that it should so much exceed all for-
 mer

*The Chancel-
 lor's Speech.*

"mer Times." He put them in Mind, "how the
 "Crown had been used since those Times, how the
 "King had found it at his blessed Return : That as
 "soon as He came hither, besides the infinite Sums
 "that He forgave, He gave more Money to the
 "People than He had since received from them" (He
 meant I suppose the Release of all the Rents, Debts
 and Receipts which were due to him); " that at least
 "two Parts of three that They had since given him
 "had issued for the disbanding of Armies never raised
 "by him, and for Payment of Fleets never sent out
 "by him, and of Debts never incurred by him." He
 put them in Mind "of the vast Disparity between
 "the former Times and these in which They now
 "lived, and consequently of the Disproportion in the
 "Expense the Crown was now at, for the Protection
 "and Benefit of the Subjects, to what it formerly un-
 "derwent. How great a Difference there was in the
 "present Greatness and Power of the two Crowns,
 "and what they had been then possessed of, was evident
 "to all Men, and if the Greatness and Power of the
 "Crown of *England* should not be in some Proportion
 "improved too, it might be liable to Inconveniencies
 "it would not undergo alone. How our Neighbours
 "and our Rivals, who court one and the same Mistress,
 "Trade and Commerce, with all the World, are ad-
 "vanced in Shipping, Power, and an immoderate
 "Desire to engross the whole Traffick of the Uni-
 "verse, was notorious enough ; and that this unruly
 "Appetite would not be restrained or disappointed,
 "nor the Trade of the Nation be supported and main-
 "tained, with the same Fleets and Forces which had
 "been maintained in the happy Times of Queen *El-*
izabeth. He needed not speak of the naval Power
 "of the *Farts*, who instead of sculking abroad in
 "poor single Ships as They were wont to do, domi-
 "neer now on the Ocean in strong Fleets, make naval
 "Fights, and had brought some *Civilians* to a better
 "Correspondence, and another Kind of Commerce
 "and

“and Traffick with them, than was expected” (for at that Time the *Dutch* had made a low and dishonourable Peace with the Pirates of *Algiers* and *Tunis*):
 “Infomuch as They apprehended no Enemy upon the
 “Sea, but what They find in the King of *England*’s
 65) “Ships, which had indeed brought no small Damage
 “upon them, with no small Charge to the King, but
 “a great Reputation to the Nation.”

“HE did assure them, that the Charge the Crown
 “was then at, by Sea and Land, for the Peace and
 “Security and Wealth and Honour of the Nation,
 “amounted to no less than eight hundred thousand
 “Pounds in the Year; all which did not cost the
 “Crown before the late Troubles fourscore thousand
 “Pounds the Year: And therefore that Nobody
 “could blame them for any Supply They had given,
 “or Addition They had made to the Revenue of the
 “Crown.” He told them, “that the new Acquisitions
 “of *Dunkirk*, *Mardike*, *Tangier*, *Jamaica*, and *Bom-*
 “*bayne*, ought to be looked upon as Jewels of an
 “immense Magnitude in the Royal Diadem; and
 “though they were of present Expense, they were
 “like in a short Time, with God’s Blessing, to bring
 “vast Advantages to the Trade, Navigation, Wealth
 “and Honour of the King and Kingdom. His Ma-
 “jesty had enough expressed his Desire to live in a
 “perfect Peace and Amity with all his Neighbours;
 “nor was it an ill Ingredient towards the Firmness
 “and Stability of that Peace and Amity which his
 “Royal Ancestors had held with them, that He hath
 “some Advantages in Case of a War, which They
 “were without.” The same Day the Parliament was The Parlia-
ment pro-
rogued.
 prorogued to the eighteenth Day of *February* fol-
 lowing.

It was about the End of *May*, when the Queen came to *Hampton-Court*. The Earl of *Sandwich*, after He had reduced those of *Algiers* and *Tunis* to good Conditions, went to *Tangier*, which was to be delivered to him before He was to go to *Lisbon* for the Reception

*The Earl of
Sandwich
takes Possession
of Tangier.*

ception of the Queen : And delivered to him it was, though by an Accident that might have caused it to be delivered into another Hand. There was never the least Doubt, but that the Queen Regent did resolve religiously to perform all the Conditions on the Part of *Portugal*; and the Government was yet in her Hands. But the King growing towards his Majority, and of a Nature not like to comply long with his Mother's Advice; Factions began likewise to grow in that Court. The Delivery of *Tangier*, and into the Hands of Hereticks, was much murmured at; as like more to irritate the Pope, who did already carry himself towards them very unlike a common Father, notwithstanding the powerful Interposition of *France*, which, upon the Peace lately made between the two Crowns, was already ceased: So that They now apprehended, that this new Provocation would give some Excuse to the Court of *Rome*, to comply more severely with the Importunities from *Spain*, which likewise upon this Occasion They were sure would be renewed with all possible Instance. And though the Queen had lately sent a Governour to *Tangier*, whom She therefore made Choice of, as a Man devoted to her, and who would obey her Commands in the Delivery of this Place; yet it is certain, He went thither with a contrary Resolution.

*A Design of
the giving it
up to him.*

VERY few Days after the Earl of *Sandwich* came thither, the Governour marched out with all the Horse and above Half the Foot of the Garrison into the Country, and fell into an Ambush of the *Moors*, who being much more numerous cut off the whole Party: And so the Governour with so many of the chief Officers and Soldiers being killed, the Town was left so weak, that if the *Moors* had pursued their Advantage with such Numbers as They might, and did intend within few Days to bring with them, They would have been able to have made little Resistance. And the Earl of *Sandwich* coming happily thither in that Conjunction, it was delivered into his Hands, who
con-

conveyed the Remainder of the Garrison into *Portugal*, where They were like to be stoned by the People; and then, having put a good Garrison of Horse and Foot which were sent from *England* into it, He delivered it up to the Earl of *Peterborough*, who had a Commission from the King to be Governour thereof; and himself with the Fleet sailed to *Lisbon*, where He had been long expected, and found his House and Equipage ready, He being then to appear in the Quality of Extraordinary Ambassadour to demand the Queen.

HIS Arrival there happened likewise in a very happy Conjunction; for the *Spanish* Army, stronger than it had been before, was upon its March to be-^{He comes to Lisbon in a critical Con- juncture.} siege a Seaport Town, which lay so near *Lisbon*, that being in the Enemies Hands it would very much have infested their whole Trade, and was not strong enough long to have resisted so powerful an Enemy. But upon the Fame of the *English* Fleet's Arrival, the *Spaniard* gave over that Design, and retired: Since as it was impossible that They should be able to take that Place, which the Fleet was so ready to relieve; so They knew not but that the *English* might make a Descent into their own Quarters, which kept them from engaging before any other Town. But the Alarm the March of that Army had given had so much disturbed *Portugal*, which never keep their whole Forces on Foot, but draw them together upon such emergent Occasions; that They were compelled to make Use of most of that Money, which They said had been laid up and should be kept for the Payment of the Queen's Portion, which was to be transported with her into *England*.

WHEREUPON, after the Ambassadour had been received with all possible Demonstration of Respect and publick Joy, and had had his solemn Audience from the King and from the Queen Regent and the Queen his Mistress; and some *English* Gentlemen of Quality, who were sent by the King, were admitted to those
Places

The Portuguese not able to pay the Queen's Portion.

Places of Attendance about the Queen, to which his Majesty had assigned them: The Queen Mother with infinite Apologies told the Ambassadour, "that the Streights and Poverty of the Kingdom were so great upon the late Advance of the *Spanish* Army, that there could at this present be only paid one Half of the Queen's Portion, and that the other Half should infallibly be paid within a Year, with which She hoped the King her Brother would be satisfied; and that for the better doing it, She resolved to send back the same Ambassadour, who had brought so good a Work with God's Blessing to so good an End, with her Daughter to the King."

THE Earl of *Sandwich* was much perplexed, nor did easily resolve what He was to do. His Instructions were to receive the whole Portion, which He knew the King expected, and which They were not able to pay. He had already received *Tangier*, and left a strong Garrison in it, and had neither Authority to restore it, nor wherewithal to carry back the Men. And at last, after He had used all the Means to have the Whole paid, and was so fully informed, that He did in Truth believe that They could do no more, He resolved that He would receive the Queen aboard the Fleet. That which They were ready to deliver for Half the Portion, was not in Money, but to be made up by Jewels, Sugar and other Commodities, which should not be overvalued. The Ambassadour was contented to give his Receipt for the several Species of the Money They would deliver, leaving the Value to be computed in *England*; but expressly refused to accept the Jewels, Sugar and Merchandises at any Rates or Prices; but was contented to receive them on Board the Ships, and to deliver them *in Specie* at *London* to any Person who should be appointed by them to receive them, who should be obliged to pay the Money they were valued at, and to make up the whole Sum that should be

be paid to the King for the Moiety. In Conclusion, all Things were delivered on Board the Ships; and *Diego Silvas*, a Jew of great Wealth and full Credit at *Amsterdam*, was sent with it, and obliged to make even the Account with the King's Ministers at *London*, and to pay what should remain due. And a new Obligation was entered into by the Crown of *Portugal*, for the Payment of the other Moiety within the Space of a Year. And the Queen with all her Court and Retinue were embarked on Board the Fleet; and without any ill Accidents her Majesty arrived safely at *Portsmouth*: And having rested only three or four Days there, to recover the Indisposition contracted in so long a Voyage at Sea, her Majesty together with the King came to *Hampton-Court* at the Time mentioned before, the twenty ninth of *May*, the King's Birthday, full two Years after his Majesty's Return and entering *London*.

The Queen arrives in England.

HOWEVER the publick Joy of the Kingdom was very manifest upon this Conjunction, yet in a short Time there appeared not that Serenity in the Court that was expected. They who had formerly endeavoured to prevent it, used ever after all the ill Arts They could to make it disagreeable, and to alienate the King's Affection from the Queen to such a Degree, that it might never be in her Power to prevail with him to their Disadvantage; an Effect They had Reason to expect from any notable Interest She might gain in his Affections, since She could not be uninformed by the Ambassadour of the Disservice They had formerly endeavoured to do her.

Endeavours used to alienate the King's Affection from the Queen.

THERE was a Lady of Youth and Beauty, with whom the King had lived in great and notorious Familiarity from the Time of his Coming into *England*, and who, at the Time of the Queen's Coming or a little before, had been delivered of a Son whom the King owned. And as that Amour had been generally taken Notice of, to the lessening of the good Reputation the King had with the People; so it underwent

Some Circumstances that contribute towards a Misunderstanding between them.

derwent the less Reproach from the King's being young, vigorous, and in his full Strength; and upon a full Presumption that when He should be married, He would contain himself within the strict Bounds of Virtue and Conscience. And that his Majesty himself had that firm Resolution, there want not many Arguments, as well from the excellent Temper and Justice of his own Nature, as from the Professions He had made with some Solemnity to Persons who were believed to have much Credit, and who had not failed to do their Duty, in putting him in Mind "of the infinite Obligations He had to God Almighty, and that He expected another Kind of Return from him, in the Purity of Mind and Integrity of Life." Of which his Majesty was piously sensible, albeit there was all possible Pains taken by that Company which were admitted to his Hours of Pleasure, to divert and corrupt all those Impressions and Principles, which his own Conscience and reverent Esteem of Providence did suggest to him; turning all Discourse and Mention of Religion into Ridicule, as if it were only an Invention of Divines to impose upon Men of Parts, and to restrain them from the Liberty and Use of those Faculties which God and Nature had given them, that They might be subject to their Reproofs and Determinations; which Kind of License was not grateful to the King, and therefore warily and accidentally used by those who had pleasant Wit, and in whose Company He took too much Delight.

THE Queen had Beauty and Wit enough to make herself very agreeable to him; and it is very certain, that at their first Meeting and for some Time after the King had very good Satisfaction in her, and without Doubt made very good Resolutions within himself, and promised himself a happy and an innocent Life in her Company, without any such Uxoriousness,⁽¹⁶⁸⁾ as might draw the Reputation upon him of being governed by his Wife, of which He had observed or been too largely informed of some inconvenient Effects
in

in the Fortune of some of his nearest Friends, and had long protested against such a Resignation; though They who knew him well, did not think him so much superiour to such a Condescension, but that if the Queen had had that Craft and Address and Dexterity that some former Queens had, She might have prevailed as far by Degrees as They had done. But the Truth is, though She was of Years enough to have had more Experience of the World, and of as much Wit as could be wished, and of a Humour very agreeable at some Seasons; yet She had been bred, according to the Mode and Discipline of her Country, in a Monastery, where She had only seen the Women who attended her, and conversed with the Religious who resided there, and without Doubt in her Inclinations was enough disposed to have been one of that Number. And from this Restraint She was called out to be a great Queen, and to a free Conversation in a Court that was to be upon the Matter new formed, and reduced from the Manners of a licentious Age to the old Rules and Limits which had been observed in better Times; and to which regular and decent Conformity the present Disposition of Men or Women was not enough inclined to submit, nor the King enough disposed to exact.

THERE was a numerous Family of Men and Women that were sent from *Portugal*, the most improper to promote that Conformity in the Queen that was necessary for her Condition and future Happiness, that could be chosen: The Women for the most Part old and ugly and proud, incapable of any Conversation with Persons of Quality and a liberal Education. And They desired, and indeed had conspired so far to possess the Queen themselves, that She should neither learn the *English* Language, nor use their Habit, nor depart from the Manners and Fashions of her own Country in any Particulars; "which Resolution," They told her, "would be for the Dignity of *Portugal*, and would quickly induce the *English* Ladies

to

“to conform to her Majesty’s Practice :” And this Imagination had made that Impression, that the Taylor who had been sent into *Portugal* to make her Cloaths, could never be admitted to see her to receive any Employment. Nor when She came to *Portsmouth*, and found there several Ladies of Honour and prime Quality to attend her in the Places to which They were assigned by the King, did She receive any of them, till the King himself came; nor then with any Grace, or the Liberty that belonged to their Places and Offices. She could not be persuaded to be dressed out of the Wardrobe that the King had sent to her, but would wear the Cloaths which She had brought, until She found that the King was displeased, and would be obeyed: Whereupon She conformed against the Advice of her Women, who continued their Opiniatry, without any one of them receding from their own Mode, which exposed them the more to Reproach.

WHEN the Queen came to *Hampton-Court*, She brought with her a formed Resolution, that She would never suffer the Lady who was so much spoken of to be in her Presence: And afterwards to those She would trust She said, “her Mother had enjoined “her so to do.” On the other Hand, the King thought that He had so well prepared her to give her a civil Reception, that within a Day or two after her Majesty’s being there, himself led her into her Chamber, and presented her to the Queen, who received her with the same Grace as She had done the rest; there being many Lords and other Ladies at the same Time there. But whether her Majesty in the Instant knew who She was, or upon Recollection found it afterwards, She was no sooner sate in her Chair, but her Colour changed, and Tears gushed out of her Eyes, and her Nose bled, and She fainted; so that She was forthwith removed into another Room, and all the Company retired out of that where She was before. And this falling out so notoriously when so many

many Persons were present, the King looked upon it with wonderful Indignation, and as an Earnest of Defiance for the Decision of the Supremacy and who should govern, upon which Point He was the most jealous and the most resolute of any Man; and the Answer He received from the Queen, which kept up the Obstinacy, displeased him more. Now the Breach of the Conditions grew Matter of Reproach; the Payment of but Half the Portion was objected to the Ambassadour, who would have been very glad that the Quarrel had been upon no other Point. He knew not what to say or do; the King being offended with him for having said so much in *Portugal* to provoke the Queen, and not instructing her enough to make her unconcerned in what had been before her Time, and in which She could not reasonably be concerned; and the Queen with more Indignation reproaching him with the Character He had given of the King, of his Virtue and good Nature: Whilst the poor Man, not able to endure the Tempest of so much Injustice from Both, thought it best to satisfy Both by dying; and from the extreme Affliction of Mind which He underwent, He sustained such a Fever as brought him to the Brink of his Grave, till some Grace from Both their Majesties contributed much to the Recovery of his Spirits.

IN the mean Time the King forbore her Majesty's Company, and sought Ease and Refreshment in that jolly Company, to which in the Evenings He grew every Day more indulgent, and in which there were some, who desired rather to inflame than pacify his Discontent. And They found an Expedient to vindicate his Royal Jurisdiction, and to make it manifest to the World, that He would not be governed; which could never without much Artifice have got Entrance into his Princely Breast, which always entertained the most tender Affections; nor was ever any Man's Nature more remote from Thoughts of Roughness or Hardheartedness. They magnified the

Temper and Constitution of his Grandfather, who indeed to all other Purposes was a glorious Example :
 “ That when He was enamoured, and found a Return
 “ answerable to his Merit, He did not dissemble his
 “ Passion, nor suffered it to be Matter of Reproach
 “ to the Persons whom He loved ; but made all
 “ others pay them that Respect which He thought
 “ them worthy of ; brought them to the Court, and
 “ obliged his own Wife the Queen to treat them with
 “ Grace and Favour ; gave them the highest Titles
 “ of Honour, to draw Reverence and Application to
 “ them from all the Court and all the Kingdom ;
 “ raised the Children He had by them to the Reputation,
 “ State and Degree of Princes of the Blood,
 “ and conferred Fortunes and Offices upon them accordingly.
 “ That his Majesty, who inherited the
 “ same Passions, was without the Gratitude and noble
 “ Inclination to make Returns proportionable to the
 “ Obligations He received. That He had, by the
 “ Charms of his Person and of his Professions, prevailed
 “ upon the Affections and Heart of a young
 “ and beautiful Lady of a noble Extraction, whose
 “ Father had lost his Life in the Service of the Crown.
 “ That She had provoked the Jealousy and Rage of
 “ her Husband to that Degree, that He had separated
 “ himself from her : And now the Queen’s Indignation
 “ had made the Matter so notorious to the World,
 “ that the disconsolate Lady had no Place of Retreat⁽¹⁷⁾
 “ left, but must be made an Object of Infamy and
 “ Contempt to all her Sex, and to the whole
 “ World.”

THOSE Discourses, together with a little Book newly printed at *Paris*, according to the License of that Nation, of the Amours of *Henry IV.* which was by them presented to him, and too concernedly read by him, made that Impression upon his Mind, that He resolved to raise the Quality and Degree of that Lady, who was married to a private Gentleman of a competent Fortune, that had not the Ambition to
 be

be a better Man than He was born. And that He might do so, He made her Husband an Earl of *Ireland*, who knew too well the Consideration that He paid for it, and abhorred the Brand of such a Nobility, and did not in a long Time assume the Title. The Lady thus qualified was now made fit for higher Preferment: And the King resolved, for the Vindication of her Honour and Innocence, that She should be admitted of the Bedchamber of the Queen, as the only Means to convince the World, that all Aspersions upon her had been without Ground. The King used all the Ways He could, by treating the Queen with all Caresses, to dispose her to gratify him in this Particular, as a Matter in which his Honour was concerned and engaged; and protested unto her, which at that Time He did intend to observe, "that He "had not had the least Familiarity with her since her "Majesty's Arrival, nor would ever after be guilty "of it again, but would live always with her Majesty "in all Fidelity for Conscience Sake." The Queen who was naturally more transported with Choler than her Countenance declared her to be, had not the Temper to entertain him with those Discourses, which the Vivacity of her Wit could very plentifully have suggested to her; but brake out into a Torrent of Rage, which increased the former Prejudice, confirmed the King in the Resolution He had taken, gave ill People more Credit to mention her disrespectfully, and more increased his Aversion from her Company, and which was worse, his Delight in those, who meant that He should neither love his Wife or his Business, or any Thing but their Conversation.

THESE domestick Indispositions and Distempers, and the Impression they made of several Kinds upon the King's Spirit and his Humour, exceedingly discomposed the Minds of the gravest and most serious Men; gave the People generally Occasion of speaking loudly, and with a License that the Magistrates knew not how to punish, for the Publication of the

Scandal: And the wisest Men despaired of finding Remedies to apply to the Dissoluteness and Debauchery of the Time, which visibly increased. No Man appeared to suffer or likely to suffer more than the Chancellor, against whom though no particular Person owned a Malignity, the Congregation of the witty Men for the Evening Conversation were enough united against his Interest; and thought his Influence upon the Kings Actions and Counsels would be too much augmented, if the Queen came to have any Power, who had a very good Opinion of him: And it is very probable, that even that Apprehension increased the Combination against his Majesty.

THE Lady had Reason to hate him mortally, well knowing that there had been an inviolable Friendship between her Father and him to his Death, which had been notorious to all Men; and that He was an implacable Enemy to the Power and Interest She had with the King, and had used all the Endeavours He could to destroy it. Yet neither She nor any of the other adventured to speak ill of him to the King, who at that Time would not have borne it; except for Wit's Sake They sometimes reflected upon somewhat He had said, or acted some of his Postures and Manner of speaking (the Skill in Mimickry being the best Faculty in Wit many of them had); which License They practised often towards the King himself, and therefore his Majesty thought it to be more free from Malice. But by these Liberties, which at first only raised Laughter, They by Degrees got the Hardiness to censure both the Persons, Counsels and Actions, of those who were nearest his Majesty's Trust, with the highest Malice and Presumption; and too often suspended or totally disappointed some Resolutions, which had been taken upon very mature Deliberation, and which ought to have been pursued. But (as hath been said before) this Presumption had not yet come to this Length.

THE

THE King imparted the Trouble and Unquietness of his Mind to Nobody with equal Freedom, as He did to the Chancellor: To him He complained of all the Queen's Perverseness and ill Humours, and informed him of all that passed between them, and obliged him to confer and advise the Queen, who, He knew, looked upon him as a Man devoted to her Service, and that He would speak very confidently to her whatsoever He thought; and therefore gave him Leave to take Notice to her of any Thing He had told him. It was too delicate a Province for so plain-
 dealing a Man as He was to undertake: And yet He knew not how to refuse it, nor indeed did despair totally of being able to do some Good, since the Queen was not yet more acquainted with any Man than with him, nor spake so much with any Man as with him; and He believed, that He might hereby have Opportunity to speak sometimes to the King of some Particulars with more Freedom, than otherwise He could well do, at least more effectually.

The Chancellor endeavours to reconcile their Majesties.

He had never heard before of the Honour the King had done that Lady, nor of the Purpose He had to make her of his Wife's Bedchamber. He spake with great Boldness to him upon Both; and did not believe that the first was proceeded in beyond Revocation, because it had not come to the Great Seal, and gave him many Arguments against it, which He thought of Weight. But upon the other Point He took more Liberty, and spake "of the "Hardheartedness and Cruelty in laying such a Command upon the Queen, which Flesh and Blood "could not comply with." He put him in Mind of what He heard his Majesty himself say, upon the like Excess which a neighbour King had lately used, in making his Mistress to live in the Court, and in the Presence of the Queen: That his Majesty had then said, "*that it was such a Piece of Illnature, that He could never be guilty of; and if ever He should be guilty of having a Mistress after He had a Wife, which*

"He hoped He should never be, She should never come where his Wife was: He would never add that to the Vexation, of which She would have enough without it." And yet He told him, "that such Friendships were not new in that other Court, nor scandalous in that Kingdom; whereas in this it was so unheard of and so odious, that a Woman who prostituted herself to the King was equally infamous to all Women of Honour, and must expect the same Contempt from them, as if She were common to Mankind: And that no Enemy He had could advise him a more sure Way to lose the Hearts and Affections of the People, of which He was now so abundantly possessed, than the indulging to himself that Liberty, now it had pleased God to give him a Wife worthy of him. That the Excess He had already used in that and other Ways had lost him some Ground; but that the Continuance in them would break the Hearts of all his Friends, and be only grateful to those who wished the Destruction of Monarchy:" And concluded with "asking his Pardon for speaking so plainly," and besought his Majesty to remember "the wonderful Things which God had done for him, and for which He expected other Returns than He had yet received."

THE King heard him with Patience enough, yet with those little Interruptions which were natural to him, especially to that Part where He had levelled the Mistresses of Kings and Princes with other lewd Women, at which He expressed some Indignation, being an Argument often debated before him by those, who would have them looked upon above any other Mens Wives. He did not appear displeased with the Liberty He had taken, but said, "He knew it proceeded from the Affection He had for him;" and then proceeded upon the several Parts of what He had said, more volubly than He used to do, as upon Points in which He was conversant, and had heard well debated.

To the first, He began with the Story of an Accident that had fallen out the Day before ; He said, “ the Lady had then told him, *that She did hope that the Chancellor was not so much her Enemy, as He was generally reported to be, for She was sure He was not guilty of one Discourtesy of which He had been accused to her, and therefore might be as innocent in others ;* and then told his Majesty, *that the Day before, the Earl of Bristol*” (who was never without some Reason to engage himself in such Intrigues, and had been a principal Promoter of all those late Resolutions) “ *came to her, and asked her whether the Patent was not yet passed ; She answered, No ; He asked if She knew the Reason, which She seeming not to do, He told her that He came in Confidence to tell her, and that if She did not quickly curb and overrule such Presumption, She would often meet it to her Prejudice ; then told her a long Relation, how the Patent had been carried to the Chancellor prepared for the Seal, and that He according to his Custom had superciliously said, that He would first speak with the King of it, and that in the mean Time it should not pass ; and that if She did not make the King very sensible of this his Insolence, his Majesty should never be Judge of his own Bounty.* And then the Lady laughed, and made sharp Reflections upon the Principles of the Earl of Bristol” (who had throughout his Life the rare good Fortune of being exceedingly beloved and exceedingly hated by the same Persons, in the Space of one Month ; and now finding that there was a Stop of the Patent, made a very natural Guess where it must be, and gratified his own Appetite in the Conclusion), “ and pulled the Warrant out of her Pocket, *where, She said, it had remained ever since it was signed, and She believed the Chancellor had never heard of it : She was sure there was no Patent prepared, and therefore He could not stop it at the Seal.*”

THE Truth is : Though according to the Custom She had assumed the Title as soon as She had the
War-

Warrant, that the other Pretence might be prosecuted, She made not Haste to pass the Patent, lest her Husband might stop it; and after long Deliberation was not so confident of the Chancellor, as to transmit it to the Seal that was in his Custody, but, the Honour being *Irish*, sent it into that Kingdom to pass the Great Seal there, where She was sure it could meet no Interruption.

WHEN the King had made this Relation, and added some sharp Remarks upon the Earl of *Bristol*, as a Man very particularly known and understood by him; He said, "that He had undone this Lady, and ruined
 "her Reputation, which had been fair and untainted
 "till her Friendship for him; and that He was
 "obliged in Conscience and Honour to repair her to
 "the utmost of his Power. That He would always
 "avow to have a great Friendship for her, which
 "He owed as well to the Memory of her Father as
 "to her own Person; and that He would look upon⁽¹⁷³⁾
 "it as the highest Disrespect to him, in any Body
 "who should treat her otherwise than was due to her
 "own Birth, and the Dignity to which He had raised
 "her. That He liked her Company and Conversation,
 "from which He would not be restrained, because
 "He knew there was and should be all Innocence
 "in it: And that his Wife should never have
 "Cause to complain that He brake his Vows to her,
 "if She would live towards him as a good Wife
 "ought to do, in rendering herself grateful and acceptable
 "to him, which it was in her Power to do;
 "but if She would continue uneasy to him, He could
 "not answer for himself, that He should not endeavour
 "to seek Content in other Company. That He
 "had proceeded so far in the Business that concerned
 "the Lady, and was so deeply engaged in it, that
 "She would not only be exposed to all imaginable
 "Contempt, if it succeeded not; but his own Honour
 "would suffer so much, that He should become
 "ridiculous to the World, and be thought too in
 "Pupilage

“Pupilage under a Governour; and therefore He
“would expect and exact a Conformity from his
“Wife herein, which should be the only hard Thing
“He would ever require from her, and which She
“herself might make very easy, for the Lady would
“behave herself with all possible Duty and Humility
“unto her, which if She should fail to do in the
“least Degree, She should never see the King’s Face
“again: And that He would never be engaged to
“put any other Servant about her, without first con-
“sulting with her, and receiving her Consent and
“Approbation. Upon the Whole,” He said, “He
“would never recede from any Part of the Resolution
“He had taken and expressed to him: And therefore
“He required him to use all those Arguments to the
“Queen, which were necessary to induce her to a full
“Compliance with what the King desired.”

THE Chancellor addressed himself to the Queen with as full Liberty and Plainness as He had presumed to use to his Majesty, but could not proceed so far at a Time, nor hold so long Conferences at once. When He first lamented the Misintelligence He observed to be between their Majesties, and She perceived the King had told him some Particulars, She protested her own Innocence, but with so much Passion and such a Torrent of Tears, that there was Nothing left for him to do, but to retire, and tell her, “that
“He would wait upon her in a fitter Season, and
“when She should be more capable of receiving humble Advice from her Servants, who wished her
“well;” and so departed.

THE next Day He waited upon her again at the Hour assigned by her, and found her much better composed than He had left her. She vouchsafed to excuse the Passion She had been in, and confessed
“She looked upon him as one of the few Friends She
“had, and from whom She would most willingly at
“all Times receive Counsel: But that She hoped He
“would not wonder or blame her, if having greater
“Misfor-

“Misfortunes upon her, and being to struggle with
 “more Difficulties, than any Woman had ever been
 “put to of her Condition, She sometimes gave Vent
 “to that Passion that was ready to break her Heart.”
 He told her, “He was desirous indeed to serve her,
 “of which He would not make great or many Pro-
 “testations, since She could not but believe it, ex-
 “cept She thought him to be a Fool or mad, since
 “Nothing could contribute so much to his Happi-
 “ness, as an eminent Sympathy between the King
 “and her in all Things: And He could not give
 “her a greater Evidence of his Devotion, than in
 “always saying that to her which was fit for her to
 “hear, though it did not please her; and He would⁽¹⁷⁴⁾
 “observe no other Rule towards her, though it should
 “render him ungracious to her.”

SHE seemed well satisfied with what He said, and
 told him “He should never be more welcome to
 “her, than when He told her of her Faults:” To
 which He replied, “that it was the Province He was
 “accused of usurping with Reference to all his
 “Friends.” He told Her, “that He doubted She
 “was little beholden to her Education, that had
 “given her no better Information of the Follies and
 “Iniquities of Mankind, of which He presumed the
 “Climate from whence She came could have given
 “more Instances, than this cold Region would af-
 “ford;” though at that Time it was indeed very
 hot. He said, “if her Majesty had been fairly dealt
 “with in that Particular, She could never have
 “thought herself so miserable, and her Condition so
 “insupportable as She seemed to think it to be; the
 “Ground of which heavy Complaint He could not
 “comprehend.” Whereupon with some blushing and
 Confusion and some Tears She said, “She did not
 “think that She should have found the King engaged
 “in his Affections to another Lady;” and then was
 able to say no more: Which gave the Chancellor
 Opportunity to say, “that He knew well, that She
 “had

“ had been very little acquainted with or informed of
“ the World ; yet He could not believe that She was
“ so utterly ignorant, as to expect that the King her
“ Husband, in the full Strength and Vigour of his
“ Youth, was of so innocent a Constitution, as to be
“ reserved for her whom He had never seen, and to
“ have had no Acquaintance or Familiarity with the
“ Sex ;” and asked, “ whether She believed, when
“ it should please God to send a Queen to *Portugal*,
“ She should find that Court so full of chaste Affec-
“ tions.” Upon which her Majesty smiled, and spake
pleasantly enough, but as if She thought it did not
concern her Case, and as if the King’s Affection had
not wandered, but remained fixed.

UPON which the Chancellor replied with some
Warmth, “ that He came to her with a Message
“ from the King, which if She received as She ought
“ to do and as He hoped She would, She would be
“ the happiest Queen in the World. That whatever
“ Correspondencies the King had entertained with any
“ other Ladies, before He saw her Majesty, con-
“ cerned not her ; nor ought She to enquire more
“ into them or after them, than into what other
“ Excesses He had used in his Youth in *France, Hol-
“ land or Germany*. That He had Authority to assure
“ her, that all former Appetites were expired, and
“ that He dedicated himself entirely and without Re-
“ serve to her ; and that if She met his Affection
“ with that Warmth and Spirit and good Humour,
“ which She well knew how to express, She would
“ live a Life of the greatest Delight imaginable.
“ That her good Fortune, and all the Joy She could
“ have in this World, was in her own Power, and
“ that She only strove to drive it from her.” She
heard all this with apparent Pleasure, and infinite
Expressions of her Acknowledgments of the King’s
Bounty ; thanked the Chancellor more than enough,
and desired him “ to help in returning her Thanks to
“ his Majesty, and in obtaining his Pardon for any
“ Passion

"Passion or Peevishness She might have been guilty of, and in assuring him of all future Obedience and Duty."

UPON this good Temper He approached to the other Part of his Message, "how necessary it would be that her Majesty should gratify this good Resolution and Justice and Tenderness in the King, by meeting it with a proportionable Submission and Resignation on her Part to whatsoever his Majesty should desire of her;" and then insinuated what would be acceptable with Reference to the Lady. But this was no sooner mentioned, than it raised all the Rage and Fury of Yesterday, with fewer Tears,⁽¹⁷⁵⁾ the Fire appearing in her Eyes, where the Water was. She said, "that the King's insisting upon that Particular could proceed from no other Ground but his Hatred of her Person, and to expose her to the Contempt of the World, who would think her worthy of such an Affront, if She submitted to it; which before She would do, She would put herself on Board any little Vessel, and so be transported to *Lisbon*:" With many other extravagant Expressions, which her Passion suggested in Spite of her Understanding; and which He interrupted with a very ill Countenance, and told her "that She had not the Disposal of her own Person, nor could go out of the House where She was without the King's Leave;" and therefore advised her "not to speak any more of *Portugal*, where there were enough who would wish her to be." He told her, "that He would find some fitter Time to speak with her, and till then only desired that She would make Shew of no such Passion to the King; and that whatever She thought fit to deny that the King proposed to her, She should deny in such a Manner, as should look rather like a Deferring than an utter Refusal, that his Majesty might not be provoked to enter into the same Passion, which would be superiour to hers."

THE

THE Chancellor made the more Haste to inform the King of all that had passed, that He might prevail with him to suspend for some little Time the prosecuting that Argument farther with the Queen. He gave him an Account of all the good and kind Things She had said with Reference to his Majesty, of the Professions She had made of all Duty and Obedience to him throughout the whole Course of her Life; "that her Unwillingness to obey him in "this one Particular proceeded only from the great "Passion of Love which She had for him, that transported her beyond the Limits of her Reason." He confessed, "He had not discoursed it so fully with her "Majesty as He resolved to have done, because a "sudden Passion had seized upon her, which She "must have some Time to overrule;" and therefore He entreated his Majesty "for a Day or two to forbear pressing the Queen in that Matter, till He had "once more waited upon her, by which He hoped "He might in some Degree dispose her Majesty to "give him Satisfaction." And though He was in no Degree pleased with the Account, yet the other did think, that He would for a little have respite the farther Discourse of it.

BUT the King quickly found other Counsellors, who told him, "that the Thing He contended for "was not of so much Importance as the Manner of "obtaining it; that the Contention now was, who "should govern; and if He suffered himself to be "disputed with, He must resolve hereafter to do all "Things *precario*." And as this Advice was more suitable to his present Passion and Purpose, so it was embraced greedily and resolutely. The Fire flamed that Night higher than ever: The King reproached the Queen with Stubbornness and Want of Duty, and She him with Tyranny and Want of Affection; He used Threats and Menaces, which He never intended to put in Execution, and She talked loudly "how ill "She was treated, and that She would return again "to

“to *Portugal*.” He replied, “that She should do
 “well first to know whether her Mother would re-
 “ceive her : And He would give her a fit Opportu-
 “nity to know that, by sending to their Home all
 “her *Portuguese* Servants ; and that He would forth-
 “with give Order for the Discharge of them all,
 “since They behaved themselves so ill, for to them
 “and their Counsels He imputed all her Perverse-
 “ness.”

THE Passion and Noise of the Night reached too many Ears to be a Secret the next Day ; and the whole Court was full of that, which ought to have been known to Nobody. And the mutual Carriage and Behaviour between their Majesties confirmed all that They had heard or could imagine : They spake not, hardly looked on one another. Every Body was glad that They were so far from the Town (for They were still at *Hampion-Court*), and that there were so few Witnesses of all that passed. The Queen sate melancholick in her Chamber in Tears, except when She drove them away by a more violent Passion in cholerick Discourse : And the King sought his Diversifements in that Company that said and did all Things to please him ; and there He spent all the Nights, and in the Morning came to the Queen’s Chamber, for He never slept in any other Place. Nobody knew how to interpose, or indeed how to behave themselves, the Court being far from one Mind ; with this Difference, that the young and frolick People of either Sex talked loudly all that They thought the King would like and be pleased with, whilst the other more grave and serious People did in their Souls pity the Queen, and thought that She was put to bear more than her Strength could sustain.

THE Chancellor came not to the Court in two or three Days ; and when He did come thither, He forbore to see the Queen, till the King sent him again to her. His Majesty informed him at large, and with more than his natural Passion, of all that had passed ;

passed; and "of the foolish Extravagancy" (as He called it) "of returning to *Portugal*; and of the positive Resolution He had taken, and the Orders He had given, for the present sending away all the *Portugueses*, to whom He did impute all his Wife's Frowardness." He renewed his former Declaration, "that He would gain his Point, and never depart from that Resolution;" yet was content to be blamed by the Chancellor, for having proceeded with so much Choler and Precipitation, and seemed to think that He had done better, if He had followed his former Advice. But then He added, "that besides the Uneasiness and Pain within himself, the Thing was more spoken of in all Places, and more to his Disadvantage, whilst it was in this Suspence, than it would be when it was once executed; which would put a final End to all Debates, and all would be forgotten."

THE Chancellor desired his Majesty to believe, "that He would endeavour, by all the Ways He could devise, to persuade the Queen to submit to his Pleasure, because it is his Pleasure; and that He would urge some Arguments to her, which He could not himself answer; and therefore He was not without Hope that they might prevail. But He desired him likewise to believe, that He had much rather spend his Pains in endeavouring to convert his Majesty from pursuing his Resolution, which He did in his Conscience believe to be unjust, than in persuading her Majesty to comply with it, which yet He would very heartily do." He desired him "to give him Leave to put him in Mind of a Discourse his Majesty had held with him many Years ago, upon an Occasion that He had admitted by telling him what his Father, the late King, had said to him: *That He had great Reason to acknowledge it due to God's immediate Blessing, and in Truth to his Inspiration, that He continued firm in his Religion: For though his Father had always taken Pains*
"him-

The Continuation of the Life of

“himself to inform and instruct him, yet He had been so much deceived by others that He put about him when He was young, a Company of the arrantest Knaves and Puritans” (they were his own Words) *“that could be found in the two Kingdoms; whereof He named two or three, who were Enemies to the Church,⁽¹⁷⁾ and used to deride all Religion. That when He had related this Discourse accidentally of his late Majesty, the King replied, that if it should please God ever to give him a Wife and Children, He would make Choice of such People to be about Both in all Places of near Trust, who in their Natures and Manners, and if it were possible in their very Humours, were such as He wished his Wife and Children should be; for He did believe that most young People (and it may be elder) were upon the Matter formed by those, whom They saw continually and could not but observe.”*
 The King answered with some Quickness, *“that He remembered the Discourse very well, and should think of it; but that the Business which He had commended to him must be done, and without Delay.”*

WHEN the Chancellor was admitted to the Queen, He presumed with all Plainness to blame her *“for the illimited Passion with which She had treated the King, and thereby provoked him to greater Indignation that She could imagine or in Truth sustain;”* and begged, *“that for her own Sake She would decline and suppress such Distempers, which could have no other Effect, than in making the Wound incurable; which it would do, in a very little Time more, inevitably, and reduce all her faithful Servants to an Incapacity of serving her.”* She acknowledged with Tears, *“that She had been in too much Passion, and said somewhat She ought not to have said, and for which She would willingly ask the King’s Pardon upon her Knees; though his Manner of treating her had wonderfully surprised her, and might be some Excuse”*

"cuse for more than ordinary Commotion. That
 "She prayed to God to give her Patience, and hoped
 "She should be no more transported with the like
 "Passion upon what Provocation soever."

THE N He entreated, "that He might find some
 "Effect of that her good Resolution, in permitting
 "him to enlarge upon the Argument He was obliged
 "to discourse to her; and that if He offered any
 "humble Advice, it should be such as He was most
 "confident would prove for her Benefit, and such as
 "He would himself submit to if He were in her
 "Condition." He told her, "He came not to
 "justify and defend the Proposition that had been
 "made to her concerning the Lady, as a just or a
 "reasonable Proposition; He had not dissembled his
 "own Opinion as to either, and when He should
 "now insist upon it again, which He must do, He
 "could not but confess that it was a very hard In-
 "junction, not to be yielded to without some Reluc-
 "tancy:" But He besought her to tell him, "whe-
 "ther She thought it in her Power to divert it; or
 "that it was not in the King's Power to impose it up-
 "on her."

SHE answered, "She knew it was in her own Power
 "to consent or not to consent to it; and that She
 "could not despair, but that the King's Justice and
 "Goodness might divert him from the Prosecution of
 "a Command so unreasonable in him, and so dis-
 "honourable to her. She would not dispute the
 "King's Power, what it might impose, being sure
 "that She could not rescue herself from it: But,"
 She said, "Nobody knew better than He, whether
 "the King was obliged to leave the Choice of her
 "own Servants to herself; and if it were otherwise,
 "She had been deceived."

HE told her, "that She had and would always
 "enjoy that Privilege: But that it was always under-
 "stood in Conditions of that Nature, that as the
 "Husband would not impose a Servant, against whom
 Vol. II. Z "just

of those who made it their Business to laugh at all the World, and who were as bold with God Almighty as with any of his Creatures. He persevered in all his Resolutions without any Remorse; directed a Day for all the *Portugueses* to be embarked, without assigning any considerable Thing of Bounty to any of them, or vouchsafing to write any Letter to the King or Queen of *Portugal* of the Cause of the Dismissal of them. And this Rigour prevailed upon the great Heart of the Queen, who had not received any Money to enable her to be liberal to any of those, who had attended her out of their own Country, and promised themselves Places of great Advantage in her Family: And She earnestly desired the King, "that She might retain some few of those who were known to her, and of most Use, that She might not be wholly left in the Hands of Strangers;" and employed others to make the same Suit to the King on her Behalf. Whereupon the Countess of *Penalva*, who had been bred with her from a Child, and who, by the Infirmary of her Eyes and other Indisposition of Health, scarce stirred out of her Chamber, was permitted to remain in the Court: And some few inferior Servants in her Kitchen and in the lowest Offices, besides those who were necessary to her Devotion, were left here. And the rest were transported to *Portugal*.

THE Officers of the Revenue were required to use all Strictness in the Receipt of that Part of the Portion that was brought over with the Fleet; and not to allow any of those Demands which were made upon Computation of the Value of Money, and other Allowances, upon the Account: And *Diego de Silva*, who was designed in *Portugal* without any good Reason to be the Queen's Treasurer, and upon that Expectation had undertaken that troublesome Province to see the Money paid in *London* by what was assigned to that Purpose, was committed to Prison for not making Haste enough in the Payment and in finishing

ing the Account; and his Commitment went very near the Queen, as an Affront done to herself. The *Portugal* Ambassadour, who was a very honest Man, and so desirous to serve the King that He had upon the Matter lost the Queen, was heartbroken; and after a long Sickness, which all Men believed would have killed him, as soon as He was able to endure the Air, left *Hampton-Court*, and retired to his own House in the City.

IN all this Time the King pursued his Point; the Lady came to the Court, was lodged there, was every Day in the Queen's Presence, and the King in continual Conference with her; whilst the Queen fate untaken Notice of: And if her Majesty rose at the Indignity and retired into her Chamber, it may be one or two attended her, but all the Company remained in the Room She left, and too often said those Things aloud which Nobody ought to have whispered. The King (who had in the Beginning of this Conflict appeared still with a Countenance of Trouble and Sadness, which had been manifest to every Body, and no Doubt was really afflicted, and sometimes wished that He had not proceeded so far, until He was again new chafed with the Reproach of being governed, which He received with the most sensible Indignation, and was commonly provoked with it most by those who intended most to govern him) had now vanquished or suppressed all those Tendernesses and Reluctancies, and appeared every Day more gay and pleasant, without any Clouds in his Face, and full of good Humour; saving that the close Observers thought it more feigned and affected than of a natural Growth. However to the Queen it appeared very real, and made her the more sensible, that She alone was left out in all Jollities, and not suffered to have any Part of those pleasant Applications and ⁸⁰Caresses, which She saw made almost to every Body else; an universal Mirth in all Company but in hers, and in all Places but in her Chamber; her own Ser-

vants shewing more Respect and more Diligence to the Person of the Lady, than towards their own Mistress, who They found could do them less Good. The nightly Meeting continued with the same or more License; and the Discourses which passed there, of what Argument soever, were the Discourse of the whole Court and of the Town the Day following: Whilst the Queen had the King's Company those few Hours which remained of the preceding Night, and which were too little for Sleep.

ALL these Mortifications were too heavy to be borne: So that at last, when it was least expected or suspected, the Queen on a sudden let herself fall first to Conversation and then to Familiarity, and even in the same Instant to a Confidence with the Lady; was merry with her in publick, talked kindly of her, and in private used Nobody more friendly. This Excess of Condescension, without any Provocation or Invitation, except by Multiplication of Injuries and Neglect, and after all Friendships were renewed, and Indulgence yielded to new Liberty, did the Queen less Good than her former Resoluteness had done. Very many looked upon her with much Compassion, commended the Greatness of her Spirit, detested the Barbarity of the Affronts She underwent, and censured them as loudly as They durst; not without assuming the Liberty sometimes of insinuating to the King himself, "how much his own Honour suffered in the Neglect and Disrespect of her own Servants, who ought at least in publick to manifest some Duty and Reverence towards her Majesty; and how much He lost in the general Affections of his Subjects: And that, besides the Displeasure of God Almighty, He could not reasonably hope for Children by the Queen, which was the great if not the only Blessing of which He stood in Need, whilst her Heart was so full of Grief, and whilst She was continually exercised with such insupportable Afflictions." And many, who were not wholly unconversant

conversant with the King, nor Strangers to his Temper and Constitution, did believe that He grew weary of the Struggle, and even ready to avoid the Scandal that was so notorious, by the Lady's withdrawing from the Verge of the Court and being no longer seen there, how firmly soever the Friendship might be established. But this sudden Downfal and total abandoning her own Greatness, this low Demeanour and even Application to a Person She had justly abhorred and worthily contemned, made all Men conclude, that it was a hard Matter to know her, and consequently to serve her. And the King himself was so far from being reconciled by it, that the Esteem, which He could not hitherto but retain in his Heart for her, grew now much less. He concluded that all her former Aver-sion expressed in those lively Passions, which seemed not capable of Dissimulation, was all Fiction, and purely acted to the Life by a Nature crafty, perverse and inconstant. He congratulated his own illnatured Perseverance, by which He had discovered how He was to behave himself hereafter, and what Remedies He was to apply to all future Indispositions: Nor had He ever after the same Value of her Wit, Judgment and Understanding, which He had formerly; and was well enough pleased to observe, that the Reverence others had for all three was somewhat diminished.

THE Parliament assembled together at the same The Parli-
ment meet. Time in *February* to which They had been adjourned or prorogued, and continued together till the End of *July* following. They brought the same Affection and Duty with them towards the King, which They ¹⁸¹⁾ had formerly; but were much troubled at what They had heard and what They had observed of the Divisions in Court. They had the same Fidelity for the King's Service, but not the same Alacrity in it: The Dispatch was much slower in all Matters depending, than it had used to be. The Truth is; the House of Commons was upon the Matter not the same: Three Years sitting, for it was very near so long

long since They had been first assembled, had consumed very many of their Members; and in the Places of those who died, great Pains were taken to have some of the King's menial Servants chosen; so that there was a very great Number of Men in all Stations in the Court, as well below Stairs as above, who were Members of the House of Commons. And there were very few of them, who did not think themselves qualified to reform whatsoever was amiss in Church or State, and to procure whatsoever Supply the King would require.

THEY, who either out of their own Modesty, or in Regard of their distant Relation to his Service, had seldom had Access to his Presence, never had presumed to speak to him; now by the Privilege of Parliament every Day resorted to him, and had as much Conference with him as They desired. They, according to the Comprehension They had of Affairs, represented their Advice to him for the conducting his Affairs; according to their several Observations represented those and those Men as well affected to his Service, and others, much better than They, who did not pay them so much Respect, to be ill affected and to want Duty for his Majesty. They brought those, who appeared to them to be most zealous for his Service, because They professed to be ready to do any Thing He pleased to prescribe, to receive his Majesty's Thanks, and from himself his immediate Directions how to behave themselves in the House; when the Men were capable of no other Instruction, than to follow the Example of some discreet Man in whatsoever He should vote, and behave themselves accordingly.

To this Time, the King had been content to refer the Conduct of his Affairs in the Parliament to the Chancellor and the Treasurer; who had every Day Conference with some select Persons of the House of Commons, who had always served the King, and upon that Account had great Interest in that Assembly,

bly, and in Regard of the Experience They had and their good Parts were hearkened to with Reverence. And with those They consulted in what Method to proceed in disposing the House, sometimes to propose sometimes to consent to what should be most necessary for the Publick; and by them to assign Parts to other Men, whom They found disposed and willing to concur in what was to be desired: And all this without any Noise, or bringing many together to design, which ever was and ever will be ingrateful to Parliaments, and however it may succeed for a little Time, will in the End be attended with Prejudice.

BUT there were two Persons now introduced to act upon that Stage, who disdained to receive Orders, or to have any Method prescribed to them; who took upon them to judge of other Mens Defects, and thought their own Abilities beyond Exception.

*Characters of
two leading
Men in the
House of Com-
mons.*

THE one was Sir *Harry Bennet*, who had procured himself to be sent Agent or Envoy into *Spain*, as soon as the King came from *Brussels*; being a Man very well known to the King, and for his pleasant and agreeable Humour acceptable to him: And He remained there at much Ease till the King returned to *England*, having waited upon his Majesty at *Fuentarabia* in the Close of the Treaty between the two Crowns, and there appeared by his Dexterity to have gained good Credit in the Court of *Spain*, and particularly with *Don Lewis de Haro*; and by that short Negotiation He renewed and confirmed the former good Inclinations of his Master to him: He had been obliged always to correspond with the Chancellor, by whom his Instructions had been drawn, and to receive the King's Preamble by his Signification; which He had always done, and professed much Respect and Submission to him: Though whatever Orders He received, and how positive soever, in Particulars which highly concerned the King's Honour and Dignity, He observed them so far and no farther than his own Humour disposed him; and in some Cases flatly disobeyed

*Of Sir Henry
Bennet.*

obeyed what the King enjoined, and did directly the contrary, as in the Case of the *Jesuit Peter Talbot*; who having carried himself with notorious Insolence towards the King in *Flanders*, had transported himself into *England*, offered his Service to *Cromwell*, and after his Death was employed by the ruling Powers into *Spain*, upon his undertaking to procure Orders, by which the King should not be suffered longer to reside in *Flanders*; of all which his Majesty having received full Advertisement, He made Haste to send Orders into *Spain* to Sir *Harry Bennet*, "that He should prepare *Don Lewis* for his Reception by letting him know, that though that *Jesuit* was his natural Subject, He had so misbehaved himself, that He looked upon him as a most inveterate Enemy and a Traitor; and therefore his Majesty desired, that He might receive no Countenance there, being as He well knew sent by the greatest Rebels to do him Prejudice."

THIS was received by Sir *Harry Bennet* before the Arrival of the Man, who found no Inconvenience by it; and instead of making any Complaint concerning him, He writ Word, "that *Talbot* had more Credit than He in that Court, that He professed to have great Devotion for the King; and therefore his Advice was, that the King would have a better Opinion of him, and employ him in his Service." And himself received him into his full Confidence, and consulted with no Man so much as with him; which made all Men believe that He was a *Roman Catholick*, who did believe that He had any Religion. But He had made his full Excuse and Defence for all this at the Interview at *Fuentarabia*, from whence the King returned with marvellous Satisfaction in his Discretion as well as in his Affection. And until, contrary to all his Expectation, He heard of the King's Return into *England*, all his Thoughts were employed how to make Benefit of the Duke of *York's* coming
into

into *Spain* to be Admiral of the Gallies; which He writ to hasten all that might be.

THOUGH He continued his formal Correspondence with the Chancellor, which He could not decline; yet He held a more secret Intelligence with *Daniel O Neile* of the Bedchamber, with whom He had a long Friendship. As soon as the King arrived in *England*, He trusted *O Neile* to procure any Direction from the King immediately in those Particulars which himself advised. And so He obtained the King's Consent, for his consenting to the old League that had been made between *England* and *Spain* in the Time of the late King, and which *Spain* had expressly refused to renew after the Death of that King (which was suddenly proclaimed in *Spain*, without ever being consulted in *England*); and presently after Leave to return into *England* without any Letter of Revocation: Both which were procured or rather signified by *O Neile*, without the Privy of the Chancellor or of either of the Secretaries of State; nor did either of them know that He was from *Madrid*, till They heard He was in *Paris*, from whence He arrived in *London* in a very short Time after. So far the Chancellor was from that powerful Interest or Influence, when his Credit was at highest.

83) BUT He was very well received by the King, in whose Affections He had a very good Place: And shortly after his Arrival, though not so soon as He thought his high Merit deserved, his Majesty conferred the only Place then void (and that had been long promised to a noble Person, who had behaved himself very well towards his Majesty and his blessed Father) upon him, which was the Office of Privy Purse; received him into great Familiarity, and into his nightly Meeting, in which He filled a principal Place to all Intents and Purposes. The King very much desired to have him elected a Member in the House of Commons, and commanded the Chancellor to use his Credit to obtain it upon the first Opportunity:
And

And in Obedience to that Command, He did procure him to be chosen about the Time We are now speaking of, when the Parliament assembled in *February*.

of Mr. William Coventry.

THE other Person was Mr. *William Coventry*, the youngest Son to a very wise Father, the Lord *Coventry*, who had been Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of *England* for many Years with an universal Reputation. This Gentleman was young whilst the War continued: Yet He had put himself before the End of it into the Army, and had the Command of a Foot Company, and shortly after travelled into *France*; where He remained whilst there was any Hope of getting another Army for the King, or that either of the other Crowns would engage in his Quarrel. But when all Thoughts of that were desperate, He returned into *England*: Where He remained for many Years without the least Correspondence with any of his Friends beyond the Seas, and with so little Reputation of caring much for the King's Restoration, that some of his own Family, who were most zealous for his Majesty's Service, and had always some signal Part in any reasonable Design, took Care of Nothing more, than that Nothing They did should come to his Knowledge; and gave the same Advice to those about the King, with whom They corresponded, to use the same Caution. Not that any Body suspected his being inclined to the Rebels, or to do any Act to Treachery; but that the Pride and Censoriousness of his Nature made him unconvertible, and his Despair that any Thing could be effectually done made him incompetent to consult the Ways of doing it. Nor had He any Conversation with any of the King's Party, nor They with him, till the King was proclaimed in *London*; and then He came over with the rest to offer his Service to his Majesty at the *Hague*, and had the good Fortune to find the Duke of *York* without a Secretary. For though He had a *Walloon* that was, in Respect of the Languages of which He was Master, fit for that Function in the Army, and had

had discharged it very well for some Years; yet for the Province the Duke was now to govern, having the Office of High Admiral of *England*, He was without any fit Person to discharge the Office of Secretary with any tolerable Sufficiency: So that Mr. *Coventry* no sooner offered his Service to the Duke, but He was received into that Employment, very honourable under such a Master, and in itself of the greatest Profit next the Secretaries of State, if they in that Respect be to be preferred.

HE had been well known to the King and Duke in *France*, and had a Brother whom the King loved well and had promised to take into his Bedchamber, as He shortly after did, *Harry Coventry*, who was beloved by every Body, which made them glad of the Preferment of the other; whilst They who knew the worst of him, yet knew him able to discharge that Office, and so contributed to the Duke's receiving him. He was a fullen, illnatured, proud Man, whose Ambition had no Limits, nor could be contained within any. His Parts were very good, if He had not thought them better than any other Man's; and 84) He had Diligence and Industry, which Men of good Parts are too often without, which made him quickly to have at least Credit and Power enough with the Duke; and He was without those Vices which were too much in Request, and which make Men most unfit for Business and the Trust that cannot be separated from it.

HE had sate a Member in the House of Commons, from the Beginning of the Parliament, with very much Reputation of an able Man. He spake pertinently, and was always very acceptable and well heard; and was one of those with whom They, who were trusted by the King in conducting his Affairs in the lower House, consulted very frequently; but not so much, nor relied equally upon his Advice, as upon some few others who had much more Experience, which He thought was of Use only to ignorant and
dull

dull Men, and that Men of Sagacity could see and determine at a little Light, and ought rather to persuade and engage Men to do that which They judged fit, than consider what themselves were inclined to do: And so did not think himself to be enough valued and relied upon, and only to be made Use of to the celebrating the Designs and Contrivance of other Men, without being signal in the Managery, which He aspired to be. Nor did any Man envy him the Province, if He could indeed have governed it, and that others who had more useful Talents would have been ruled by him. However being a Man who naturally loved Faction and Contradiction, He often made Experiments how far He could prevail in the House, by declining the Method that was prescribed, and proposing somewhat to the House that was either beside or contrary to it, and which the others would not oppose, believing, in Regard of his Relation, that He had received newer Directions: And then if it succeeded well (as sometimes it did), He had Argument enough to censure and inveigh against the Chancellor, for having taken so ill Measures of the Temper and Affections of the House; for He did not dissemble in his private Conversation (though his outward Carriage was very fair) that He had no Kindness for him, which in Gratitude He ought to have had; nor had He any Thing to complain of from him, but that He wished well and did all He could to defend and support a very worthy Person, who had deserved very well from the King, against whom He manifested a great and causeless Animosity, and desired to oppress for his own Profit, of which He had an immoderate Appetite.

WHEN those two Persons, Sir *Harry Bennet* and Mr. *Coventry*, (between whom there had been as great a League of Friendship, as can be between two very proud Men equally illnatured) came now to sit together in the House of Commons; though the former of them knew no more of the Constitution and Laws of *Eng-*
land

land than He did of *Cbina*, nor had in Truth a Care or Tendernefs for Church or State, but believed *France* was the beft Pattern in the World; They thought They ſhould have the greateſt Wrong imaginable, if They did not entirely govern it, and if the King took his Meaſures of what ſhould be done there from any Body but themſelves. They made Friendſhips with ſome young Men, who ſpake confidently and often, and upon ſome Occaſions ſeemed to have Credit in the Houſe. And upon a little Con- verſation with thoſe Men, who being Country Gentle- men of ordinary Condition and mean Fortunes were deſirous to have Intereſt in ſuch a Perſon as Sir *Harry Bennet*, who was believed to have great Credit with the King; He believed He underſtood the Houſe and what was to be done there, as well as any Man in *England*.

He recommended thoſe Men to the King, “as
 “Perſons of ſublime Parts, worthy of his Maſteſty’s
 “careſſing: That He would undertake to fix them
 85, “to his Service; and when They were his own, He
 “might carry what He would in the Houſe of Com-
 “mons.” The Men had Parts indeed and good
 Affections, and often had reſorted to the Chancel-
 lor, received Advice from him, and thought them-
 ſelves beholden to him; being at that Time entirely
 governed by Sir *Hugh Pollard*, who was himſelf ſtill
 adviſed by the Chancellor (with whom He had a long
 and faſt Friendſhip) how He ſhould direct his Friends,
 having indeed a greater Party in the Houſe of Com-
 mons willing to be diſpoſed of by him, than any Man
 that ever ſate there in my Time. But now theſe Gen-
 tlemen had got a better Patron; the new Courtier had
 raiſed their Value, and talked in another Dialect to
 them, of Recompences and Rewards, than They had
 heard formerly. He carried them to the King, and
 told his Maſteſty in their own Hearing, “what Men
 “of Parts They were, what Services They had done
 “for him, and how much greater They could do:”

And

The Continuation of the Life of

And his Majesty received and conferred with them very graciously, and dismissed them with Presents which made them rich already.

THE two Friends before mentioned agreed so well between themselves, that whether They spoke together or apart to the King, They said always the same Things, gave the same Information, and took Care that both their Masters might have the same Opinions and Judgments. They magnified the Affections of the House of Commons, "which were so great and united, that They would do whatsoever his Majesty would require. That there were many worthy and able Men, of whose Wisdom the House was so well persuaded, that They commonly consented to whatsoever They proposed: And that these Men complained, *that They had no Directions given to them which Way They might best serve the King; They knew not what He desired, which when They should do, it would quickly appear how much They were at the King's Disposal, and all Things which now depended long would be hereafter dispatched in Half the Time.*"

THE King wondered very much, "that his Friends in the House were no better informed, of which He had never heard any Complaint before, and wished them to speak with the Chancellor:" For neither of these Men were yet arrived at the Confidence to insinuate in the least Degree any Ill-Will or Prejudice to him, though They were not united in any one Thing more than the Desire of his Ruin, and the Resolution to compass it by all the ill Arts and Devices They could use; but till it should be more seasonable, They dissembled to Both their Masters to have a high Esteem of him, having not yet Credit enough with either to do him Harm. They said, "They would very willingly repair to him, and be directed by him: But They desired that his Majesty himself would first speak to him (because it would not so well become them) to call those Persons, whom They had recommended to him, to meet together with

“with the rest with whom He used to advise; which
 “the Persons They named They were sure would be
 “very glad of, having all of them a great Esteem of
 “the Chancellor, and being well known to him,” as
 indeed They were, and most of them obliged by
 him.

THE King willingly undertook it: And being
 shortly after attended by the Chancellor, his Majesty
 told him all that the other two had said to him, and
 did not forget to let him know the great Good-Will
 They had Both professed towards him. He asked
 him “what He thought of such and such Men,” and
 particularly named Mr. *Clifford* and Mr. *Churchill*, and
 some other Men of better Quality and much more
 Interest, “who,” He said, “took it ill that They
 “were not particularly informed what the King de-
 86, “sired, and which Way They might best serve him;”
 and bade him, “that at the next Meeting of the rest,
 “these Men might likewise have Notice to be pre-
 “sent, together with Sir *Harry Bennet* and Mr. *Wil-*
 “*liam Coventry*,” for *Harry Coventry* (who was a
 much wiser Man than his Brother, and had a much
 better Reputation with wise Men) was constantly in
 those Councils.

THE Chancellor told him, “that great and noto-
 “rious Meetings and Cabals in Parliament had been
 “always odious in Parliament: And though they
 “might produce some Success in one or two Par-
 “ticulars till they were discovered, they had always
 “ended unluckily; until they were introduced in the
 “late ill Times by so great a Combination, that they
 “could not receive any Discountenance. Yet that
 “They, who compassed all their wicked Designs by
 “those Cabals, were so jealous that They might be
 “overmatched by the like Practices, that when They
 “discovered any three or four of those, who were
 “used to concur with them, to have any private
 “Meetings, They accused them to conspire against
 “the Parliament. That when his Majesty returned,

“and all the World was full of Joy and Delight to
 “serve him, and Persons were willing and importu-
 “nate to receive Direction how They might do it in
 “that Convention; Care had been taken without any
 “Noise, or bringing any Prejudice upon those who
 “were willing to be Instruments towards the pro-
 “curing what was desirable, and to prevent what
 “would be ingrateful, that little Notice might be
 “taken of them, which had good Success.”

“THAT since this Parliament the Lord Treasurer
 “and He had, by his Majesty’s Direction, made
 “Choice of some Persons eminent for their Affection
 “to the Crown, of great Experience and known Abi-
 “lities, to confer with for the better preparing and
 “conducting what was to be done in the House of
 “Commons: But the Number of them was not so
 “great as to give any Umbrage. Nor did They
 “meet oftner together with them, than upon Acci-
 “dents and Contingencies was absolutely necessary;
 “but appointed those few who had a mutual Confi-
 “dence in each other, and every one of which had an
 “Influence upon others and advised them what to do,
 “to meet by themselves, either at the Lord *Bridg-*
 “*man’s* or Mr. Attorney’s Chambers, who still gave
 “Notice to the other two of what was necessary,
 “and received Advice. That there were very few of
 “any notable Consideration, who did not frequently
 “repair to Both of them, either to dine with them or
 “to perform some Office of Civility; with every
 “one of whom They conferred, and said what was
 “necessary to inform them what was fit for them
 “to do.”

“THAT two of those who were named by his
 “Majesty, Mr. *Clifford* and Mr. *Cchurchill*, were honest
 “Gentlemen, and received the Advice They were to
 “follow from Sir *Hugh Pollard*, who had in Truth a
 “very particular Influence upon all the *Cornish* and
 “*Devonshire* Men. And that his Majesty might know
 “that He had not been well informed, *that the others*
 “named

“ named by him took it unkindly that They did not know
 “ his Pleasure, who were leading Men, as indeed They
 “ were; He assured his Majesty that there was not
 “ one of those who was not particularly consulted
 “ with, and advertised by some Person who was
 “ chosen by every one of them for that Purpose; and
 “ that They would by no Means resort to any Meet-
 “ ing, fearing to undergo the odious Name of *Under-*
 “ *takers*, which in all Parliaments hath been a Brand;
 “ But as They had never opposed any Thing that re-
 “ lated to his Service, so upon any private Insinuation
 “ They had been ready to propose any Thing which
 187 “ would not have been so acceptable from any, who
 “ had been known to have Relation to his Service, or
 “ to depend upon those who had.”

He besought his Majesty to consider, “ whether
 “ any Thing had hitherto, in near three Years, fallen
 “ out amiss or short of what He had expected, in the
 “ wary Administration that had been in that Affair;”
 and did not conceal his own Fears, “ that putting it
 “ into a more open and wider Channel, his Majesty’s
 “ own too publick speaking with the Members of
 “ Parliament, and believing what every Man who was
 “ present told him passed in Debates, and who for
 “ Want of Comprehension as well as Memory com-
 “ mitted many Mistakes in their Relations, would be
 “ attended with some Inconveniences not easy to be
 “ remedied.” The King was not dissatisfied with the
 Discourse, but seemed to approve it: However He
 would have Sir *Harry Bennet*, Mr. *Clifford* and *Churchill*,
 called to the next Meeting; and because They were
 to be introduced into Company They had not used to
 converse with, that it should be at the Chancellor’s
 Chamber, who should let the rest know the good
 Opinion his Majesty had of those who were added to
 the Number.

By this Means and with these Circumstances this
 Alteration was made in the Conduct of the King’s
 Service in the Parliament; upon which many other

*An Alteration
 in the Ma-
 nagement of
 the House of
 Commons.*

Alterations followed by Degrees, though not at once. Yet presently it appeared, that this Introduction of new Confidants was not acceptable to those, who thought They had very well discharged their Trust. Sir *Harry Bennet* was utterly unknown to them, a Man unversed in any Business, who never had nor ever was like to speak in the House, except in his Ear who sat next to him to the Disadvantage of some who had spoken, and had not the Faculties to get himself beloved, and was thought by all Men to be a *Roman Catholic*, for which They had not any other Reason but from his Indifference in all Things which concerned the Church.

WHEN They met first at the Chancellor's Chamber, as the King had directed, They conferred freely together with little Difference of Opinion: Though it appeared that They, who had used to be together before, did not use the same Freedom as formerly in delivering their particular Judgments, not having Confidence enough in the new Comers, who in their private Meetings afterwards took more upon them, rather to direct than to advise; so that the other grew unsatisfied in their Conversation. And though the Meetings continued at one of the Places before mentioned, some always discontinued their Attendance; so that by Degrees there were less Resolutions taken than had been formerly: Nor was there so cheerful a Concurrence, or so speedy a Dispatch of the Business depending in the House, as had been.

HOWEVER, there appeared Nothing of Disunion in the Parliament, but the same Zeal and Concurrence in all Things which related to the King. The Murmurs and Discontents were most in the Country, where the People began to talk with more License and less Reverence of the Court and of the King himself, and to reproach the Parliament for their raising so much Money, and increasing of the Impositions upon the Kingdom, without having done any Thing for the Redress of any Grievance that lay
upon

upon the People. The License with Reference to Religion grew every Day greater, the Conventicles more frequent and more insolent, which disturbed the Country exceedingly; but not so much as the Liberty the *Papists* assumed, who behaved themselves with Indiscretion, and bragged as if They had a Toleration and cared not what the Magistrates could do. The Parliament had a Desire to have provided against those Evils with the same Rigour: But though there would have been a general Consent in any Provision that could be made against the *Fanatics* and the Conventicles, yet there would not be the like Concurrence against the *Papists*; and it was not possible to carry on the one without the other. And therefore the Court, that They might be sure to prevent the last, interrupted all that was proposed against the former, which They wished provided against, and chose to have neither out of Fear of Both; which increased the Disorders in the Country, and caused more Reflections upon the Court: So that this Session of Parliament produced less of Moment than any other.

AND the King, after They had given him four Subsidies, which was all the Money They could be drawn to give, that He might part as kindly with them as He used to do, and upon Discovery of several seditious Meetings amongst the Officers of the disbanded Army, which He could best suppress when He had most Leisure, He resolved to prorogue the Parliament. And so sending for them upon the 27th of *July*, He thanked them for the Present which They had made to him of the four Subsidies, “which,” *The King's Speech at the Prorogation of the Parliament.* He told them, “He would not have received from them, if it were not absolutely necessary for their Peace and Quiet as well as his: And that it would yet do him very little Good, if He did not improve it by very good Husbandry of his own; and by retrenching those very Expenses, which in many Respects might be thought necessary enough. But They should see that He would much rather impose

“upon himself, than upon his Subjects; and that if
 “all Men would follow his Example in retrenching
 “their Expenses (which possibly They might do
 “with much more Convenience than He could do
 “his) the Kingdom would in short Time gain
 “what They had given him that Day.” He told
 them, “He was very glad that They were going in-
 “to their several Countries, where their Presence
 “would do much Good: And He hoped their Vigi-
 “lance and Authority would prevent those Distur-
 “bances, which the restless Spirits of ill and un-
 “quiet Men would be always contriving, and of
 “which his Majesty did assure them They promised
 “themselves some Effects that Summer. And that
 “there had been more Pains and unusual Ways taken
 “to kindle the old fatal Fears and Jealousies, than He
 “thought He should ever have lived to have seen, at
 “least to have seen so countenanced.”

He told them, “that He had expected to have
 “had some Bills presented to him against the several
 “Distempers in Religion, against seditious Conven-
 “ticles, and against the Growth of Popery: But
 “that it might be They had been in some Fear of
 “reconciling those Contradictions in Religion into
 “some Conspiracy against the publick Peace, to
 “which himself doubted Men of the most contrary
 “Motives in Conscience were inclinable enough. He
 “did promise them that He would lay that Business
 “to Heart, and the Mischiefs which might flow from
 “those Licenses; and if He lived to meet with them
 “again, as He hoped He should, He would himself
 “take Care to present two Bills to them to that End.
 “And that, as He had already given it in Charge to
 “the Judges, in their several Circuits, to use their
 “utmost Endeavours to prevent and punish the scan-
 “dalous and seditious Meetings of *Seſſaries*, and to
 “convict the *Papiſts*; so He would be as watchful,
 “and take all the Pains He could, that neither the
 “one or the other should disturb the Peace of the
 “King-

“Kingdom.” And adding many gracious Expressions of his Esteem and Confidence in their Affections, He caused them to be prorogued towards the End of *March*, which would be the Beginning of the Year 1664.

- 189) THE King had an Intention at that Time to have prepared against the next Meeting two such Bills as He mentioned to them, and was well enough content that the Parliament had not presented such to him, which He well foresaw would not have been such as He should have been pleased with. He would have liked the most rigorous Acts against all the other Factions in Religion, but did not think the *Papists* had deserved the same Severity, which would have been provided against them with the other, it being very apparent, that the Kingdom generally had resumed their old Jealousies of them, provoked by the very unwary Behaviour of that People, who bragged of more Credit in the Court than They could justify, though most Men thought They had too much: And that was the Reason that He had commanded the Chancellor to require the Judges, who were then beginning their Circuits, to cause the *Roman Catholics* to be convicted, which He believed would allay much of the Jealousies in the Country, as for the present it did. And then He resolved to cause two such Bills to be prepared for several Reasons, of which the principal was, that He might divide them into two Bills; presuming that when He had sent one against either, They would not affect reducing Both into one, which was that which the Catholick Party most apprehended.

The King intends to prepare two Bills against the Papists and Sectaries.

HIS Majesty was himself very unsatisfied with the imprudent Carriage of the *Catholicks*, and thought They did affect too much to appear as if They stood upon the Level with all other Subjects: And He received very particular and unquestionable Information, that some Priests had made it an Argument to some whom They endeavoured to make their Pro-

Imprudent Behaviour of the Papists.

Profelytes, "that the King was of their Religion in "his Heart, and would shortly declare it to all the "World;" with which his Majesty was marvellously offended, and did heartily desire that any of those indiscreet Persons might be proceeded against with Severity. Yet He had no Mind that any Man should be put to Death, which could hardly be avoided if any Man should be brought to Trial in the Case aforesaid, except He had granted his Pardon, which with these Circumstances would have carried Scandal in it. Besides He did think the wisest of that Party had not carried themselves with Modesty enough, with what was good for themselves and for his Majesty's Honour. And therefore He had, without imparting it to any Friends of theirs, given that Direction to the Judges for convicting them, as the best Means to reclaim them to a better Temper: And He had a Purpose, that the Bill He meant should be prepared should more effectually perform that Part, without exposing them to any notable Inconveniences in their Persons or their Fortunes, if They behaved themselves well and warily.

The King designs to have the Papists convicted,

He did believe, that it was necessary for his Service that They should be all convicted, that it might be evident to himself what their Numbers consisted of and amounted to, which He believed would be found much inferiour to what they were generally computed, and then the Danger from their Power would not be thought so formidable: And it could be no Prejudice to them without a further Proceeding upon their Conviction, which He was resolved to restrain, as He well might, and had done hitherto; resolving within himself, that no Man should suffer under those penal Laws which had been made against them in the Age before, if They lived like good Subjects, and administered no Occasion of Scandal. And as He was not reserved in declaring that his gracious Purpose towards them (as hath been said before); so hitherto it had not been attended by any Murmurs: And yet He

He was not without a Purpose of keeping such a Power over them, as might make them wholly depend upon him.

HIS Majesty did in his Judgment and Inclination put a great Difference between those *Roman Catholics*, who being of antient Extraction had continued of the same Religion from Father to Son, without having ever been *Protestant*, amongst whom there were very few who had not behaved themselves very worthily; and those, who since the late Troubles had apostatized from the Church of *England* to that of the *Roman*, without any such Evidence of Conscience, as might not administer just Reason to suspect, that their Inducements had been wholly from worldly Temptations. And He did resolve in his Bill to make a Distinction between those Classes, and to prevent or at least to discourage those Lapses which fell out too frequently in the Court; nor did Men believe that They need make any Apology for it, but appeared the more confidently in all Places. He did resolve likewise to contract and lessen the Number of the Ecclesiastical Persons, who upon Missions resorted hither as to an Infidel Nation (which was and is a Grievance that the *Catholics* would be glad to be eased in), and to reduce them into such an Order and Method by this Bill, that He might himself know the Names of all Priests remaining in the Kingdom, and their several Stations where They resided; which must have produced such a Security to those who stayed, and to those with whom They stayed, as would have set them free from any Apprehension of any Penalties imposed by preceding Parliaments.

BUT this Design (which comprehended many other Particulars) vanished as soon as it was discovered. The King's own Discourse of a Bill that He would cause to be drawn against the *Roman Catholics* awakened great Jealousies; nor did They want Instruments or Opportunities to discover what the Meaning of it could be. Nor was the King reserved in the Argument,

*Measures
taken to frustrate his Design.*

ment, but communicated it with those who He knew were well affected to that Party, and to one or two of themselves who were reputed to be moderate Men, and to desire Nothing but the Exercise of their Religion with the greatest Secrecy and Caution, and who often informed him and complained "of the Folly "and Vanity of some of their Friends, and more "particularly of the Presumption of the *Jesuits*." And such Kind of Factions and Divisions there are amongst them, which might be cultivated to very happy Productions: But such Ingenuity, as to be contented with what might gratify all their own Pretences, there is not amongst them.

THESE moderate Men complained already, "that "the King was deceived by their Enemy the Chancellor," who indeed was generally very odious to them, for no other Reason, but because They knew He was irreconcilable to their Profession; not that They thought He desired that the Laws should be put in Execution against them; and some of the chief of them believed him to be much their Friend, and had Obligations to him. But They all lamented this Direction given to the Judges for their Conviction, "which," They informed the King, "was the necessary Preamble to the highest Persecution the Law "had prepared against them. That till They were "convicted They were in the same Predicament with "the rest of his Subjects; but as soon as They were "convicted" (which the Judges now caused to be prosecuted throughout the Kingdom), "They were "liable to all the other Penalties, which his Majesty "was inclined to protect them from." They presented to him a short Memorial of the Disadvantages which were consequent to a Conviction, in which They alleged some Particulars which were not clear in the Law, at least had never been practised in the severest Times.

THOUGH the King had well weighed all He had⁽¹⁹¹⁾ done before He did it, and well knew, after all their
Insinua-

Insinuations and Allegations, that none of those Inconveniences could ensue to them, if He restrained any further Prosecution, which He always had intended to do; yet They wrought so far upon him, that He was even sorry that He had proceeded so far: And though it was not fit to revoke any Part of it, yet He cared not how little it was advanced. And for the Bill He meant to present in the next Session, They said "all their Security and Quiet
 " They had enjoyed since his Majesty's happy Return depended wholly upon the general Opinion, that He had Favour for them, and Satisfaction in their Duty and Obedience as good Subjects, and their Readiness to do him any Service, which They would all make good with their Lives and all that They had. But if He should now discover any Jealousy of their Fidelities, and that there was Need of a new Law against them, which his Purpose of providing a Bill implied, what Mitigation soever his Majesty intended in it, it would not be in his Majesty's Power to restrain the Passion of other Men; but all those Animosities which had been hitherto covered and concealed, as grateful to him, would upon this Occasion break out to their Destruction: And therefore They hoped, that whatever Bitterness the Parliament might express against them when They came together, They should receive no Invitation or Encouragement by any Jealousy or Displeasure his Majesty should manifest to have towards them."

THESE and the like Arguments, or the Credit of those who urged them, made that Impression, that He declined any further Thought of that Bill; nor was there ever after Mention of it. The *Catholicks* grew bolder in all Places, and conversant in those Rooms of the Court into which the King's Chaplains never presumed to enter; and to crown all their Hopes, the Lady declared herself of that Faith, and inveighed

inveighed sharply against the Church She had been bred in.

*Discontents in
the Country.*

DURING the Interval of the Parliament, there was not such a Vacation from Trouble and Anxiety as was expected. The domestick Unquietness in the Court made every Day more Noise abroad : Infinite Scandals and Calumnies were scattered amongst the People ; and They expressed their Discontents upon the great Taxes and Impositions which They were compelled to pay, and publicly reproached the Parliament ; when They were in Truth vexed and grieved at Heart for that which They durst not avow, and did really believe that God was angry with the Nation, and resolved to exercise it under greater Tribulation than He had so lately freed them from. The general Want of Money was complained of, and a great Decay of Trade ; so that the native Commodities of the Kingdom were not transported. Yet Both these were but Pretences, and resulted from Combinations rather than from Reason. For it appeared by the Customs, that the Trade was greater than it had ever been, though some of our native Commodities, especially Cloth, seemed for some Time to be at a Stand ; which proceeded rather from the present Glut, which in the general License the Interlopers had irregularly transported in great Quantities, by which the Prices were brought low, and could only be recovered by a Restraint for some Time, which the *Merchant Adventurers* put upon themselves, and would have put upon the Interlopers, who were at last too hard for them, even upon the Matter to the suppressing the Company, that had stood in great Reputation for very many Years, and had advanced that Manufacture to a great Height ; and whether it deserved that Discountenance, Time must decide. How unreasonable the other Discourse was of Want of Money, there needs no other Argument, but the great Purchases⁽¹⁹⁾ which were every Day made of great Estates ; nor was any considerable Parcel of Land in any Part of
England

England offered to be sold, but there was a Purchaser at Hand ready to buy it.

HOWEVER these Pretences, together with the sudden bringing up all the Money, that was collected for the King, *in Specie to London*, which proceeded from the Bankers advancing so much present Money for the emergent Occasions, for which They had those Assignments upon the Money of the Country, did really produce such a sudden Fall of the Rents throughout the Kingdom, as had never been known before: So that Men were compelled to abate generally a fourth Part of their annual Rents at the least, or to take their Lands into their own Hands, for which They were as ill provided. All this Mischief fell upon the Nobility and greatest Gentry, who were Owners of the greatest Estates, every Body whose Estate lay in Land undergoing a Share in the Suffering, which made the Discontent general; which They thought the best Way to remedy would be to raise no more Taxes, which They took to be the Cause why the Rents fell. In the mean Time the Expenses of the Court, and of all who depended upon it, grew still higher, and the King himself less intent upon his Business, and more loved his Pleasures, to which He prescribed no Limits, nor to the Expenses which could not but accompany them.

THERE was Cause enough to be jealous of the publick Peace; there being every Day Discoveries made of private Meetings and Conferences between Officers of the old Army; and that Correspondencies were settled between them throughout the Kingdom in a wonderful Method; and that They had a grand Committee residing in *London*, who had the supreme Power, and which sent Orders to all the rest, who were to rise in one Day and meet at several Rendezvous. Hereupon several Persons were apprehended and committed to Prison; and the King himself often took the Pains to examine them; and They confessed commonly more to his Majesty himself than upon any other

other Examination. Proclamations issued often for the banishing all Officers who had ever borne Arms against the King twenty Miles from *London*, which did more publish the Apprehension of new Troubles.

THERE can be no Doubt, but that there were many seditious Purposes amongst the People, of which there often appeared so full Evidence, that many were executed for High Treason, who were tried and condemned by the Judges at their general Session at *Newgate*: Yet there was often Cause to believe that many Men were committed, who in Truth had not been more faulty, than in keeping ill Company and in hearing idle Discourses. Informing was grown a Trade, which many affected to get Money by: And as the King's Ministers could not reject in a Time of so much Jealousy, so the receiving them gave them great Trouble; for few of them were willing to be produced as Evidence against those They accused, pretending, sometimes with Reason, "that if They were known They should be rendered "useless for the future, whereas They were yet un- "suspected and admitted into all Councils." All the Sects of Religion spake with more Boldness in their Meetings, and met more frequently, than They had used to do in the Times that Sir *Richard Browne* and Sir *John Robinson* had been Lord Mayors; and the Officers who succeeded them proved less vigilant. A general Despondency seemed to possess the Minds of Men, as if They little cared what came to pass; which did not proceed so much from Malice, as from the Disease of murmuring, which had been contracting above twenty Years, and became almost incorpo-⁽¹⁹⁾rated into the Nature of the Nation.

*An Intrigue
in the Court to
advance Sir
H. Bennet.*

THERE happened about this Time an Alteration in the Court, that produced afterwards many other Alterations which were not then suspected, yet even at that Time was not liked in the Court itself, and less out of it. The Keeper of the Privy Purse, who was
more

more fit for that Province than for any other to which He could be applied, did not think himself yet preferred to a Station worthy of his Merit and great Qualifications. Some Promises the King had made to him when He was at *Fuhtarabia*, and had long much Kindness for his Person and much Delight in his Company: So that his Friend, Mr. *O'Neile*, who was still ready to put his Majesty in Mind of all his Services, had Nothing hard to do but to find a Vacancy that might give Opportunity for his Advancement; and He was dextrous in making Opportunities which He could not find, and made no Scruple to insinuate to the King, "that the Abilities of neither of his Secretaries were so great but that He might be better served." Indeed his Majesty, who did not naturally love old Men, had not so much Esteem of them as their Parts and Industry and Integrity deserved, and would not have been sorry if either or Both of them had died.

SECRETARY *Nicholas* had served the Crown very many Years with a very good Acceptation, was made Secretary of State by the late King, and loved and trusted by him in his nearest Concernments to his Death: Nor had any Man, who served him, a more general Reputation of Virtue and Piety and unquestionable Integrity throughout the Kingdom. He was a Man to whom the Rebels had been always irreconcilable; and from the End of the War lived in Banishment beyond the Seas, was with his Majesty from the Time He left *France* (for whilst the King was in *France* with his Mother, to whom the Secretary was not gracious, He remained at a Distance; but from the Time that his Majesty came into *Germany* He was always with him) in the Exercise of the same Function he had under his Father, and returned into *England* with him, with Hope to repair his Fortune by the just Perquisites of his Office, which had been very much impaired by his long Sufferings and Banishment. He had never been in his Youth a Man of quick and sudden

*Character of
Secretary Nicholas.*

The Continuation of the Life of

sudden Parts, but full of Industry and Application (which it may be is the better Composition), and always versed in Business and all the Forms of Dispatch. He was now some Years above seventy, yet truly performed his Office with Punctuality, and to the Satisfaction of all Men who repaired to him: And the King thought it an envious as well as an illnatured Thing, to discharge such an Officer because He had lived too long.

*Of Secretary
Morrice.*

THE other Secretary was Secretary *Morrice*, whose Merit had been his having transacted all that had been between the King and the General, which was thought to be much more than it was. Yet He had behaved himself very well, and as much disposed the General as He was capable of being disposed; and his Majesty had preferred him to that Office purely to gratify and oblige the General; and He had behaved himself very honestly and diligently in the King's Service, and had a good Reputation in the House of Commons, and did the Business of his Office without Reproach. He had lived most Part of his Time in the Country, with the Repute of a wise Man and a very good Scholar, as indeed He was both in the *Latin* and *Greek* Learning; but being without any Knowledge in the modern Languages, He gave the King often Occasion to laugh at his unskilful Pronunciation of many Words. In the *Latin* Dispatches, which concern all the Northern Parts,⁽¹⁹⁾ He was ready, and treated with those Ambassadors fluently and elegantly; and for all domestick Affairs no Man doubted his Sufficiency, except in the Garb and Mode and Humour of the Court.

AND the Inducement that brought him in made it unfit to remove him, lest it might grieve the General, whose Friend and Kinsman He was: So that there was no Expedient to provide for Sir *Harry Bennet*, but by removing Secretary *Nicholas* by his own Consent; for the King would not do it otherwise to so old and faithful a Servant. And his Majesty was the more inclined

inclined to it, because it would give him the Opportunity to bring another Person into the Office of the Privy Purse, of whom He was lately grown very fond, and towards whom He had, when He came into *England*, a greater Aversion than to any Gentleman who had been abroad with him, and that was Sir *Charles Berkley*, who was then Captain of the Duke of *York's* Guard, and much in the good Grace of his Royal Highness.

WHILST this Intrigue was contriving and depending, great Care was taken that it might not come to the Notice of the Chancellor, lest if He could not divert the King from desiring it, which They believed He would not attempt, He might dissuade his old Friend the Secretary, with whom He had held a long and particular Friendship, from hearkening to any Proposition, or accepting any Composition; which They believed not unreasonably that the other would be very solicitous in, as well to keep a Man in, whom He could entirely trust, as to keep another out, of whose Abilities He had no Esteem, and in whose Affection He had no Confidence: And it was thought by many, that the same Apprehension prevailed with the good old Man himself to cherish the Secrecy. Certain it is, that the whole Matter was resolved and consented to, before ever the Chancellor had a Suspicion of it.

ONEILE, who had always the Skill to bring that to pass by others which He could not barefaced appear in himself, insinuated to Mr. *Asburnham*, who pretended and I think had much Friendship for the Secretary, "that the King thought the Secretary too old to take so much Pains, and often wished that his Friends would persuade him to retire, that there might be a younger Man in the Office, who could attend upon his Majesty at all Hours and in all Journies; but that his Majesty always spake kindly of him, and as if He resolved to give him an ample Recompense:" And in Confidence told him,

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B b

"that

“that the King had an impatient Desire to have Sir
 “*Harry Bennet* Secretary of State.” *Alburnham* was
 well versed in the Artifices of Court too; and thought
 He might very well perform the Office of a Friend
 to his old Confident, and at the same Time find a
 new and more useful Friend for himself, by having a
 Hand in procuring a large Satisfaction for the old,
 and likewise facilitating the Way for the Introduction
 of a new Secretary, who could not forget the Obliga-
 tion. So He told *O Neile*, “that all the World knew
 “that He had for many Years professed a great
 “Friendship for Secretary *Nicholas*” (They had been
 Both Servants at the same Time to the Duke of *Buck-*
ingham, when He was killed), “and that He should
 “be much troubled to see him displaced in his old
 “Age with Contempt; but if his Majesty would
 “dismiss him with Honour and Reward, that He
 “might be able to provide for his Wife and Chil-
 “dren, He would make no Scruple to persuade him
 “to quit his Employment.” *O Neile* had all He
 looked for, and only enjoined him Secrecy, “that it
 “might not come to the King’s Ear that He had
 “communicated this Secret to any Man; and He did⁽¹⁹⁷⁾
 “presume, that before any Resolution was taken in
 “it, his Majesty would speak of it to the Chan-
 “cellor.”

WITHIN a Day or two the King sent for *Alburn-*
ham and told him, “He knew He was a Friend to
 “the Secretary, who was now grown old, and not
 “able to take the Pains He had done; that He had
 “served his Father and himself very faithfully, and
 “had spent his Fortune in his Service; that if He
 “were willing to retire, for without his Consent He
 “would do Nothing, He would give him ten thou-
 “sand Pounds, or any other Recompense He should
 “choose,” implying a Title of Honour: But inti-
 mated, though He referred all to his own Will, “that
 “He wished, and that it would be acceptable to him,
 “that

“that the Office might be vacant and at his Majesty’s
“Disposal.”

HE undertook the Employment very cheerfully, and quickly imparted all that had passed from the King, and all that He knew before, to the Secretary; who was not fond of the Court, and thought He had lived long enough there, having seen and observed much that He was grieved at Heart to see. He considered, that though this Message was very gracious, and offered a noble Reward for his Service, it did withal appear that the King did desire He should be gone; and having designed a Successor to him, who had already much Credit with him, if He should seem fullen or unwilling, He might in a short Time be put out without any Consideration, or at most with the Promise of one. Thereupon He wished his Friend “to assure the King, that He would very readily do “whatsoever his Majesty thought necessary for his “Service; but He hoped, that after above forty Years “spent in the Service of the Crown, He should not “be exposed to Disgrace and Contempt. That He “had a Wife and Children, who had all suffered with “him in Exile till his Majesty’s Return, and for whom “He could not make a competent Provision without “his Majesty’s Bounty; and therefore He hoped, that “before his Majesty required the Signet, He would “cause the Recompense He designed to be more than “what He had mentioned, and to be first paid.”

THIS Province could not be put into a fitter Hand, for it was managed with notable Skill. And as soon as it was known that the Secretary would willingly resign, which was feared, and that only a better Recompense was expected, every Body was willing that the King should make the Act look as graciously as might be, that the Successor might be attended with the less Envy. And Mr. *Apsburnham* cultivated their

*Secretary Nicholas re-
figus.*

Sir H. Bennet made Secretary of State, and Sir Charles Berkley Privy Purse.

twenty thousand Pounds, to bring in a Servant whom very few cared for, in the Place of an old Servant whom every Body loved: And He received all that was promised, before He resigned his Place. And if the Change had been as good for the King, as it was for the good old Secretary, every Body would have been glad. And thus Sir *Harry Bennet* was at the King's Charge accommodated, even to the Satisfaction of his own Ambition: And his Majesty was as well pleased, that He had gotten Sir *Charles Berkley* into the other Office about his Person, whom He every Day loved with more Passion, for what Reason no Man knew nor could imagine.

The Chancellor's Interest declines.

AND from this Time They who stood at any near Distance could not but discern, that the Chancellor's Interest and Credit with the King manifestly declined: Not that either of these two pretended to be his Rival, or appeared to cross any Thing in Council that He proposed or advised; on the contrary, They Both professed great Respect towards him. One of them being no Privy Counsellor, made great Professions⁽¹⁹⁶⁾ and Addresses to him by himself, and by some Friends who had much Credit with him; protested "against meddling at all in Business, and that He "only hoped to gain a Fortune by his Majesty's Favour, upon which He might be able to live;" nor did it appear afterwards, that He did to his Death wish that the Chancellor's Power should be lessened: And the other made all the Professions imaginable of Affection and Respect to him, and repaired upon Occasions to him for Advice and for Direction. Nor in Truth could either of them have done him any Prejudice at that Time with the King by pretending to do it; but by pretending the contrary by Degrees got Power to do it.

The King still continues his Favour to him.

HIS Majesty did not in the least Degree withdraw his Favour from him, heard him as willingly, came as often to him, was as little reserved in any Thing; only in one Particular He did with some Solemnity
con-

conjure him never to mention it to him again, in which He did not yet punctually obey him, nor avoid seasonably saying any Thing to him which He believed to be his Duty, and which his Majesty never seemed to take ill. And whenever He spake to him of either of the other two Gentlemen, which He frequently did with much Kindness, He always added somewhat of Both their Respects and Esteem for him, as a Thing that pleased him well; and said once, "that it concerned them, for whenever He should discern it to be otherwise, He should make them repent it." Yet notwithstanding all this, from that Time Counsels were not so secret, and greater Liberty was taken to talk of the publick Affairs in the Evening Conversation, than had been before, when they happened sometimes to be shortly mentioned in the Production of some Wit or Jest; but now they were often taken into Debate, and censured with too much Liberty with Reference to Things and Persons; and the King himself was less fixed and more irresolute in his Counsels; and inconvenient Grants came every Day to the Seal for the Benefit of particular Persons, against which the King had particularly resolved, and at last by Importunity would have passed. Lastly, Both these Persons were most devoted to the Lady, and much depended upon her Interest, and consequently were ready to do any Thing that would be grateful to her.

THERE was another Mischief contrived about this Time, that had a much worse Influence upon the Publick, except We shall call it the same, because it did in Truth proceed from it. Though the publick State of Affairs, in Respect of the Distempers and Discomposures which are mentioned before, and that the Expenses exceeded what was assigned to support it, whereby the great Debt was little diminished, yielded little Delight to those who were most trusted to manage and provide for them, and who had a melancholick and dreadful Apprehension of Consequences : *The first Rise of the Dutch War.*

quences : Yet whilst the Nation continued in Peace, and without any Danger from any foreign Enemy, the Prospect was so pleasant, especially to those who stood at a Distance, that They saw Nothing worthy of any Man's Fear ; and there was reasonable Hope, that the Expenses might every Year be reduced within reasonable Bounds. But all that Hope vanished, when there appeared an immoderate Desire to engage the Nation in a War.

UPON the King's first Arrival in *England*, He manifested a very great Desire to improve the general Traffick and Trade of the Kingdom, and upon all Occasions conferred with the most active Merchants upon it, and offered all that He could contribute to the Advancement thereof. He erected a Council of Trade, which produced little other Effect than the Opportunity of Mens speaking together, which possibly disposed them to think more, and to consult more effectually in private, than They could in such a Crowd of Commissioners. Some Merchants and Seamen made a Proposition by Mr. *William Coventry* and some few others to the Duke of *York*, "for the Erection of a Company in which They desired his Royal Highness to preside" (and from thence it was called the Royal Company), "to which his Majesty should grant the sole Trade of *Guinea*, which in a short Time They presumed would bring great Advantage to the Publick, and much Profit to the Adventurers, who should begin upon a joint Stock, to be managed by a Council of such as should be chosen out of the Adventurers."

*The Erection
of the Royal
African Com-
pany.*

THIS Privilege had before the Troubles been granted by the late King to Sir *Nicholas Crispe* and others named by him, who had at their own Charge sent Ships thither : And Sir *Nicholas* had at his own Charge bought a Nook of Ground, that lay into the Sea, of the true Owners thereof (all that Coast being inhabited by Heathens), and built thereon a good Fort and Warehouses, under which the Ships lay ;
and

and He had advanced this Trade so far before the Troubles, that He found it might be carried on with very great Benefit. After the Rebellion began, and Sir *Nicholas* betook himself to serve the King, some Merchants continued the Trade, and either by his Consent or *Cromwell's* Power had the Possession of that Fort, called *Cormantine*; which was still in the Possession of the *English* when his Majesty returned, though the Trade was small, in Respect the *Dutch* had fixed a stronger Quarter at no great Distance from it, and sent much more Ships and Commodities thither, and returned once every Year to their own Country with much Wealth. The chief End of this Trade was, besides the putting off great Quantities of our own Manufactures according as the Trade should advance, to return with Gold, which that Coast produced in good Quantity, and with Slaves, *Blacks*, which were readily sold to any Plantation at great Prices.

THE Model was so well prepared, and the whole Method for governing the Trade so rationally proposed, that the Duke was much pleased with it, and quickly procured a Charter to be granted from the King to this Company with ample Privileges, and his Majesty himself to become an Adventurer, and which was more, to assist them for the first Establishment of their Trade with the Use of some of his own Ships. The Duke was the Governour of the Company, with Power to make a Deputy: All the other Officers and Council were chosen by the Company, which consisted of Persons of Honour and Quality, every one of which brought in five hundred Pounds for the first joint Stock, with which They set out the first Ships; upon the Return whereof They received so much Encouragement and Benefit, that They compounded with Sir *Nicholas Crispe* for his Propriety in the Fort and Castle; and possessed themselves of another Place upon the Coast, and sent many Ships thither, which made very good Returns, by putting off their *Blacks* at

at the *Barbadoes* and other the King's Plantations at their own Prices, and brought Home such Store of Gold that administered the first Occasion for the Coinage of those Pieces, which from thence had the Denomination of *Guineas*; and what was afterwards made of the same Species, was coined of the Gold that was brought from that Coast by the Royal Company. In a Word, if that Company be not broken or disordered by the Jealousy that the Gentlemen Adventurers have of the Merchants, and their Opinion that They understand the Mysteries of Trade as well as the other, by which They refuse to concur in the necessary Expedients proposed by the other, and interpose unskilful Overtures of their own with Pertinacy, it will be found a Model equally to advance the Trade of *England* with that of any other Company, even that of the *East-Indies*.

FROM the first Entrance into this Trade, which the Duke was exceedingly disposed to advance, and was constantly present himself at all Councils, which were held once a Week in his own Lodgings at *Whiteball*, it was easily discovered that the *Dutch* had a better Trade there than the *English*, which They were then willing to believe that They had no Right to, for that the Trade was first found out and settled there by the *English*; which was a sufficient Foundation to settle it upon this Nation, and to exclude all others, at least by the same Law that the *Spaniard* enjoys the *West-Indies*, and the *Dutch* what They or the *Portuguese* possessed in the *East*. But this They quickly found would not establish such a Title as would bear a Dispute: The having sent a Ship or two thither, and built a little Fort, could not be allowed such a Possession as would exclude all other Nations. And the Truth was; the *Dutch* were there some Time before us, and the *Dane* before either: And the *Dutch*, which was the true Grievance, had planted themselves more advantageously, upon the Bank of a River, than We had done; and by the
Erection

Erection of more Forts were more strongly feared, and drove a much greater Trade, which They did not believe They would be persuaded to quit. This drew this Discourse from the Right to the Easiness, by the Assistance of two or three of the King's Ships, to take away all that the *Dutch* possessed in and about *Guinea*, there having never been a Ship of War seen in those Parts; so that the Work might be presently done, and such an Alliance made with the Natives, who did not love the *Dutch*, that the *English* might be unquestionably possessed of the whole Trade of that Country, which would be of inestimable Profit to the Kingdom.

The Merchants desirous of a War with the Dutch.

THE Merchants took much Delight to enlarge themselves upon this Argument, and shortly after to discourse "of the infinite Benefit that would accrue from a barefaced War against the *Dutch*, how easily They might be subdued, and the Trade carried by the *English*. That *Cromwell* had always beaten them, and thereby gotten the greatest Glory He had, and brought them upon their Knees; and could totally have subdued them, if He had not thought it more for his Interest to have such a Second, whereby He might the better support his Usurpation against the King. And therefore, after They had consented to all the infamous Conditions of the total abandoning his Majesty, and as far as in them lay to the Extirpation of all the Royal Family, and to a perpetual Exclusion of the Prince of *Orange*, He made a firm Peace with them; which They had not yet performed, by their retaining still the Island of *Poloerone*, which They had so long since barbarously taken from the *English*, and which They had expressly promised and undertaken to deliver in the last Treaty, after *Cromwell* had compelled them to pay a great Sum of Money for the Damages which the *English* had sustained at *Amboyna*, when all the Demands and

"Threats

“Threats from King *James* could never procure any
“Satisfaction for that foul Action.”

*The Duke of
York much
for it.*

THESE Discourses, often reiterated in Season and out of Season, made a very deep Impression in the Duke; who having been even from his Childhood in the Command in Armies and in his Nature inclined to the most difficult and dangerous Enterprises, was already weary of having so little to do, and too impatiently longed for any War, in which He knew He could not but have the chief Command. But these Kind of Debates, or the Place in which they were made, could contribute little to an Affair of so huge an Importance, otherwise than by inciting the Duke, which they did too much, to consider and affect it, and to dispose others who were near him to inculcate the same Thoughts into him, as an Argument in which his Honour would be much exalted in the Eye of all the World: And to these good Offices They were enough disposed by the Restlessness and Un-⁽¹⁹⁾quietness of their own Natures, and by many other Motives for the accomplishing their own Designs, and getting more Power into their own Hands.

BUT there was lately, very lately, a Peace fully concluded with the *States General* upon the same Terms, Articles and Conditions, which They had formerly yielded to *Cromwell*, being very much more advantageous than They had ever granted in any Treaty to the Crown. And at the Time of the Conclusion of the Peace, They delivered their Orders from the *States General* and their *East-India* Company for the Delivery of the Island of *Poloroone* to the *English*, which *Cromwell* himself had extorted from them with the greatest Difficulty: So that there was now no Colour of Justice to make a War upon them. Besides that there were at present great Jealousies from *Spain* upon the Marriage with *Portugal*; nor did *France*, which had broken Promise in making a Treaty with *Holland*, make any Haste to renew the Treaty with *England*. And therefore it could not but seem

seem strange to all Men, that when We had only made a Treaty of Peace with *Holland*, and that so newly, and upon so long Consideration, and had none with either of the Crowns, We should so much desire to enter into a War with them.

HOWEVER, the Duke's Heart was set upon it, and He loved to speak of it, and the Benefits which would attend it. He spake of it to the King, whom He found no Ways inclined to it, and therefore He knew it was unfit to propose it in Council: Yet He spake often of it to such of the Lords of whom He had the best Opinion, and found many of them to concur with him in the Opinion of the Advantages which might arise from thence. And sometimes He thought He left the King disposed to it, by an Argument which He found prevailed with many: "That the Differences and Jealousies in Point of Trade, which did every Day fall out and would every Day increase between the *English* and the *Dutch*, who had in the late Distractions gotten great Advantages, would unavoidably produce a War between them; and then that the Question only was, whether it were not better for us to begin it now, when They do not expect it, and We are better prepared for it than probably We shall be then; or to stay two or three Years, in which the same Jealousy would provoke them to be well provided, when probably We might not be ready. That We had the best Sea Officers in the World, many of whom had often beaten the *Dutch*, and knew how to do it again; and a Multitude of excellent Mariners and common Seamen: All which, if They found that Nothing would be done at Home, would disperse themselves in Merchants Voyages to the *Indies* and the *Straits*; and probably so many good Men would never be found together again."

AND with such Arguments He many Times thought that He left the King much moved: But when He spake to him again (though He knew that He had no Kind-

The Chancellor opposes it.

Kindness for the *Dutch*) his Majesty was changed, and very averse to a War; which He imputed to the Chancellor, who had not dissembled, as often as his Highness spake to him, to be passionately and obstinately against it. And He did take all the Opportunities He could find to confirm the King in his Aversion to it, who was in his Heart averse from it, by presenting to him the State of his own Affairs, “the⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ great Debt that yet lay upon him, which with Peace and good Husbandry might be in some Time paid; but a War would involve him in so much greater, that no Man could see the End of it. That He would be able to preserve himself against the Factions and Distempers in his own Kingdom, and probably suppress them, if He were without a foreign Enemy: But if He should be engaged in a War abroad, his domestick Divisions, especially those in Religion, would give him more Trouble than He could well struggle withal.”

“THAT it was an erroneous Assumption, *that the Dutch would be better provided for a War two or three Years hence, and his Majesty worse*, for which there was no Reason. That within that Time it would be his own Fault, if the Distempers in his three Kingdoms were not composed, which would make him much fitter for a War; whereas now neither of them could be said to be in Peace, that of *Ireland* being totally unsettled, and that of *Scotland* not yet well pleased, and *England* far from it. That in that Time it was very probable that the two Crowns would be again engaged in a War; since it was generally believed, and with great Reason, that *France* only expected the Death of the King of *Spain*, who was very infirm, and meant then to fall into *Flanders*, having at the same Time with great Expence provided great Magazines of Corn and Hay upon the Borders, which could be for no other End. That whilst He continued in Peace his Friendship would be valuable to all the Princes
“of

of *Europe*, and the two Crowns would strive who should gain him: But if He engaged in a War, and in such a War as that with *Holland*, which would interrupt and disturb all the Trade of the Kingdom, upon which the greatest Part of his Revenue did rise; all other Princes would look on, and not much esteem any Offices He could perform to them. And lastly, that a little Time might possibly administer a just Occasion of a War, which at present there was not."

THESE, and better Arguments which the King's own Understanding suggested to him, made him fully resolve against the War, and to endeavour to change his Brother from affecting it, which wrought not at all upon him; but finding that many Things fell from the King in the Argument, which had been alleged to himself by the Chancellor, He concluded the Mischief came from him, and was displeased accordingly, and complained to his Wife, "that her Father should oppose him in an Affair upon which He knew his Heart was so much set, and of which every Body took so much Notice;" which troubled her very much. And She very earnestly desired her Father, "that He would no more oppose the Duke in that Matter." He answered her, "that She did not enough understand the Consequence of that Affair; but that He would take Notice to the Duke of what She had said, and give him the best Answer He could." And accordingly He waited upon the Duke, who very frankly confessed to him, "that He took it very unkindly, that He should so positively endeavour to cross a Design so honourable in itself, and so much desired by the City of *London*; and He was confident it would be very grateful to the Parliament, and that They would supply the King with Money to carry it on, which would answer the chief Objection. That He was engaged to pursue it, and He could not but be sorry

"and

*The Duke of
fended with
him for it.*

digious an Expence as could never be supported; had put his Majesty to frequent Consultations how He might lessen and save any Part of it. But no Expectant⁽¹⁰²⁾ could be resolved upon. The Lord Treasurer, who was most troubled when Money was wanted, had many secret Conferences with the General and with the best Seamen, of the Benefit that accrued to the Crown by keeping of *Dunkirk*; the constant Charge and Expence whereof amounted to above one hundred and twenty thousand Pounds yearly: And He found by them that it was a Place of little Importance. It is true that He had conferred of it with the Chancellor, with whom He held a fast Friendship; but found him so averse from it, that He resolved to speak with him no more, till the King had taken some Resolution. And to that Purpose He perswaded the General to go with him to the King and to the Duke of *York*, telling them Both, "that the Chancellor must know Nothing of it:" And after several Debates the King thought it so counselable a Thing, that He resolved to have it debated before that Committee which He trusted in his most secret Affairs; and the Chancellor being then lame of the Gout, He commanded that all those Lords should attend him at his House. Beside his Majesty himself and the Duke of *York*, there appeared the Lord Treasurer, the General, the Earl of *Sandwich*, the Vice-Chamberlain Sir *George Carteret*, who had been a great Commander at Sea, and the two Secretaries of State. When the King entered the Room with the Lord Treasurer, He desired his Majesty, smiling, "that He would take the Chancellor's Staff from him, otherwise He would break his Head." When They were all sate, the King told him, "They were all come to debate an Affair that He knew He was against, which was the parting with *Dunkirk*; but He did believe, when He had heard all that was said for it and against it, He would change his Mind, as He himself had done." And so the Debate

*The Chancellor
for against it.*

*The Business
referred to a
Committee.*

bate was entered into in this Method, after enough was said of the Streights the Crown was in, and what the yearly Expense was.

(1.) "THAT the Profit which did or could accrue to the Kingdom by the keeping of *Dunkirk* was ^{*Reasons urged for parting with it.*} very inconsiderable, whether in War or Peace. That by Sea it was very little useful, it being no Harbour, nor having Place for the King's Ships to ride in with Safety; and that if it were in the Hand of an Enemy, it could do us little Prejudice, because three or four Ships might block it up, and keep it from infesting its Neighbours: And that though heretofore it had been a Place of License at Sea, and had much obstructed Trade by their Men of War, yet that proceeded only from the Unskillfulness of that Time in applying proper Remedies to it; which was manifest by *Cromwell's* blocking them up, and restraining them when He made War upon them, inasmuch as all the Men of War left that Place, and betook themselves to other Harbours. That it was so weak to the Land (notwithstanding the great Charge his Majesty had been at in the Fortifications, which were not yet finished) by the Situation and the Soil, that it required as many Men within to defend it, as the Army should consist of that besieged it; otherwise that it could never hold out and endure a Siege of two Months: As it appeared clearly by its having been taken and retaken so many Times within the late Years, in all which Times it never held out so long, though there was always an Army at no great Distance to relieve it."

(2.) "THAT the Charge of keeping and maintaining it, without any Accidents from the Attempt of an Enemy, did amount unto above one hundred and twenty thousand Pounds by the Year, which was a Sum the Revenue of the Crown could not supply, without leaving many other Particulars of much more Importance unprovided for." And this was

not lightly or cursorily urged; but the State of the Revenue, and the constant and indispensable Issues, were at the same Time presented and carefully examined.

(3.) "It could not reasonably be believed, but that if *Dunkirk* was kept, his Majesty would shortly be involved in a War with one of the two Crowns. The *Spanish* Ambassadour had already demanded Restitution of it in Point of Justice, it having been taken from his Master by the late Usurper, in a Time when there was not only a Peace between his Majesty and the King of *Spain*, but when his Majesty resided, and was entertained by the *Catholic* King, in *Flanders*: And at this Time both *France* and *Spain* inhibited their Subjects from paying those small Contributions to the Garrison at *Dunkirk*, and endeavoured to restrain the Governour himself from enjoying some Privileges, which had been always enjoyed by him from the Time that it had been put into *Cromwell's* Hands." And it was upon this and many other Reasons then conceived, "that as it would be very hard for the King to preserve a Neutrality towards Both Crowns, even during the Time of the War between them" (which Temper was thought very necessary for his Majesty's Affairs); "so it would be much more difficult long to avoid a War with one of them upon the keeping *Dunkirk*, if the Peace that was newly made should remain firm and unshaken."

The King resolves to dispose of it.

UPON these Reasons, urged and agreed upon by those who could not but be thought very competent Judges, in Respect of their several Professions and great Experience, the King resolved to ease himself of the insupportable Burden of maintaining *Dunkirk*, and to part with it in such a Manner as might be most for his Advantage and Benefit. There remained then no other Question, than into what Hand to put it: And the Measure of that was only who would give most Money for it, there being no Inclination

to prefer one before another. It was enough understood, that Both Crowns would be very glad to have it, and would probably Both make large Offers for it. But it was then as evident, that whatsoever *France* Reasons for selling it to France. should contract for, the King would be sure to receive, and the Business would be soon dispatched: Whereas on the other Hand it was as notorious and evident to his Majesty, and to all who had any Knowledge of the Court of *Spain*, and of the Scarcity of Money there and in *Flanders*; that how large Offers soever the *Spaniard* might make, They could not be able in any Time to pay any considerable Sum of Money; and that there would be so much Time spent in Consult between *Madrid* and *Brussels* before it could be dispatched, that the keeping it so long in his Majesty's Hands would in the Expense disappoint him of a good Part of the End in parting with it. Besides that it seemed at that Time probable, that the *Spaniard* would shortly declare himself an Enemy; for besides that He demanded *Dunkirk* as of Right, so He likewise required the Restitution of *Tangier* and *Jamaica* upon the same Reason, and declared "that without it there could be no lasting Peace between *England* and *Spain*," and refused so much as to enter upon a Treaty of Alliance with the King, before He should promise to make such a Restitution.

THERE wanted not in this Conference and Debate the Consideration of the *States* of the *United Provinces*, as Persons like enough to desire the Possession of *Dunkirk*, from whence They had formerly received so much Damage, and were like enough to receive more whenever They should be engaged in any War: And if in Truth They should have any such Desire, more Money might be reasonably required and probably be obtained from them, than could be expected from either of the Kings. But upon the Discussion of that Point, it did appear to every Man's Reason very manifest, that though They had rather that *Dunkirk* should be put into the Hands of the *Spaniard* than

delivered to *France*, or than it should be detained by the *English*; yet They durst not receive it into their own Possession, which neither of the two Crowns would have approved of, and so it would have exposed them to the Displeasure if not to the Hostility of Both the Kings.

The King refers it to the Privy Council.

UPON this full Deliberation, his Majesty inclined rather to give it up to *France* than to *Spain*; but deferred any positive Resolution till He had imparted the whole Matter to the Council-Board, where the Debate was again resumed, principally, "whether it were more counsellable to keep it at so vast a Charge, or to part with it for a good Sum of Money." And in that Debate the Mention of what had been heretofore done in the House of Commons upon that Subject was not omitted, nor the Bill that They had sent up to the House of Peers for annexing it inseparably to the Crown: But that was not thought of Moment; for as it had been suddenly entertained in the House of Commons, upon the *Spanish* Ambassadors first Proposition for the Restitution, so it was looked upon in the House of Peers as unfit in itself, and so laid aside after once being read (which had been in the first Convention soon after the King's Return), and so expired as soon as it was born. After a long Debate of the whole Matter at the Council-Board, where all was averred concerning the Uselessness and Weakness of the Place, by those who had said it at the Committee; there was but one Lord of the Council who offered his Advice to the King against parting with it: And the Ground of that Lord's dissenting, who was the Earl of *St. Albans*, was enough understood to have Nothing of publick in it, but to draw the Negotiation for it into his own Hands. In Conclusion, his Majesty resolved to put it into the Hand of *France*, if that King would comply with his Majesty's Expectation in the Payment of so much Money as He would require for it: And a Way was found out, that the King might privately be

Where only one opposes it.

be advertised of that his Majesty's Resolution, if He should have any Desire to deal for it.

THE Advertisement was very welcome to the *French* King; who was then resolved to visit *Flanders* as soon as He should know of the Death of the King of *Spain*, which was expected every Day. Nor had He deferred it till then, upon the late Affront his Ambassadour had received at *London* from the *Spanish* Ambassadour (who by a contrived and laboured Stratagem had got the Precedence for his Coach before the other; which the King of *France* received with that Indignation, that He sent presently to demand Justice at *Madrid*, commanded his Ambassadour to retire from thence, and would not suffer the *Spanish* Ambassadour to remain in *Paris* till He should have Satisfaction, and was resolved to have begun a War upon it), if the King of *Spain* had not acknowledged the Fault of his Ambassadour, and under his Hand declared the Precedence to belong to *France*; which Declaration was sent to the Courts of all Princes: And so for the present that Spark of Fire was extinguished or rather raked up.

THE King sent *M. D'Estrades* privately to *London* to treat about *Dunkirk*, without any Character, but pretending to make it his Way to *Holland*, whither He was designed Ambassadour. After He had waited upon the King, his Majesty appointed four or five of the Lords of his Council, whereof the Chancellor and Treasurer and General were three, to treat with *M. D'Estrades* for the Sale of *Dunkirk*; when the first Conference was spent in endeavouring to persuade him ⁰⁵⁾ to make the first Offer for the Price, which He could not be drawn to: So that the King's Commissioners were obliged to make their Demand. And They asked the Sum of seven hundred thousand Pounds *Sterling*, to be paid upon the Delivery of *Dunkirk* and *Mardike* into the Possession of the King of *France*; which Sum appeared to him to be so stupendous, that He seemed to think the Treaty at an End, and

*Monsieur
D'Estrades
comes over to
treat about the
Price.*

resolved to make no Offer at all on the Part of his Master. And so the Conference brake up.

AT the next Meeting He offered there Millions of *Livres*, which according to the common Account amounted to three hundred thousand *Pistoles*, which the King's Commissioners as much undervalued; so that any farther Conference was discontinued, till He had sent an Express or two into *France*, and till their Return: For as the Expectation of a great Sum of ready Money was the King's Motive to part with it, besides the saving the monthly Charge; so They concluded that his Necessities would oblige him to part with it at a moderate Price. And after the Return of the Expresses, the King's Commissioners insisting still upon what *D'Estrades* thought too much, and He offering what They thought too little, the Treaty seemed to be at an End, and He prepared for his Return. In Conclusion, his Majesty being fully as desirous to part with it as the King of *France* could be to have it, it was agreed and concluded, "that upon the Payment of five hundred thousand *Pistoles* "in *Specie* at *Calais* to such Persons as the King should appoint to receive it, his Majesty's Garrison of *Dunkirk* and *Mardike* should be withdrawn, and those Places put into the Hands of the King of *France*." All which was executed accordingly. And without Doubt it was a greater Sum of Money than was ever paid at one Payment by any Prince in *Christendom*, upon what Occasion soever; and every Body seemed very glad to see so vast a Sum of Money delivered into the *Tower of London*, as it was altogether; the King at the same Time declaring, "that no Part of it should be applied to any ordinary Occasion, but be preserved for some pressing Accident, as an Insurrection or the like," which was reasonably enough apprehended.

*The Price
agreed upon.*

*A Vindication
of the Chan-
cellor in this
Affair.*

NOR was there the least Murmur at this Bargain in all the Sessions of the Parliament which sate after, until it fell out to some Men's Purposes to reproach the
the

the Chancellor: And then They charged him "with
 "advising the Sale of *Dunkirk*, and that the very Ar-
 "tillery, Ammunition and Stores amounted to a
 "greater Value than the King received for the
 "Whole;" when upon an Estimate that had been
 taken of all those, they were not esteemed to be more
 worth than twenty thousand Pounds *Sterling*; and the
 Consideration of those, when the King's Commission-
 ers insisted upon their being all shipped for *England*,
 and the Necessity of keeping them upon the Place
 where they were, had prevailed with *M. D'Estrades* to
 consent to that Sum of five hundred thousand *Pistoles*.
 But whether the Bargain was ill or well made, there
 could be no Fault imputed to the Chancellor, who
 had no more to do in the Transaction than is before set
 down, the whole Matter having been so long delibe-
 rated and so fully debated. Nor did He ever before,
 or in; or after the Transaction, receive the Value of
 Half a Crown for Reward or Present, or any other
 Consideration relating to that Affair: And the Treat-
 ment He received after his coming into *France* was
 Evidence enough, that that King never thought him-
 self beholden to him.

A LITTLE before this Time, the Queen Mother The Queen
Mother brings
a natural Son
of the King
into England. returned again for *England*, having disbursed a great
 Sum of Money in making a noble Addition to her
 Palace of *Somerset-House*. With the Queen there
 came over a Youth of about ten or a dozen Years of
 Age, who was called by the Name of Mr. *Crofts*, be-
 cause the Lord *Crofts* had been trusted to take Care
 of his Breeding; but He was generally thought to be
 the King's Son, begotten upon a private *Welshwoman*
 of no good Fame, but handsome, who had transport-
 ed herself to the *Hague*, when the King was first there,
 with a Design to obtain that Honour, which a Groom
 of the Bedchamber willingly preferred her to; and
 there it was this Boy was born. The Mother lived
 afterwards for some Years in *France* in the King's
 Sight, and at last lost his Majesty's Favour: Yet
 the

the King desired to have the Son delivered to him, that He might take Care of his Education, which She would not consent to. At last the Lord *Crofts* got him into his Charge; and the Mother dying at *Paris*, He had the sole Tuition of him, and took Care for the breeding him suitable to the Quality of a very good Gentleman. And the Queen after some Years came to know of it, and frequently had him brought to her, and used him with much Grace; and upon the King's Desire brought him with her from *Paris* into *England*, when He was about twelve Years of Age, very handsome, and performed those Exercises gracefully which Youths of that Age used to learn in *France*. The King received him with extraordinary Fondness, and was willing that every Body should believe him to be his Son, though He did not yet make any Declaration that He looked upon him as such, otherwise than by his Kindness and Familiarity towards him. He assigned a liberal Maintenance for him; but took not that Care for a strict Breeding of him as his Age required.

THE General, during the Time of his Command in *Scotland*, had Acquaintance with a Lady of much Honour there, the Countess of *Weemes*, who had been before the Wife of the Earl of *Buccleuch*, and by him had one only Daughter, who inherited his very great Estate and Title, and was called the Countess of *Buccleuch*, a Child of eight or ten Years of Age. All Men believed, that the General's Purpose was to get this Lady for his own Son, a Match suitable enough: But the Time being now changed, the Lord *Lautherdale*, being a good Courtier, thought his Countrywoman might be much better married, if She were given to the King for this Youth, towards whom He expressed so much Fondness, those Kinds of Extractions carrying little Disadvantage with them in *Scotland*; and the General, whatever Thoughts He had before, would not be so ill a Courtier as not to advance such a Proposition. The Lady was already
in

in Possession of the greatest Fortune in *Scotland*, which would have a fair Addition upon the Death of her Mother.

THE King liked the Motion well; and so the Mother was sent to, to bring up her Daughter to *London*, They being then Both in *Scotland*. And when They came, the King trusted the Earl of *Lautherdale* principally to treat that Affair with the Mother, who had rather have been referred to any other Body, having indeed some just Exceptions. They were Both yet under the Years of Consent; but that Time drawing on, such a Contract was drawn up as had been first proposed to the King, which was, "that the whole Estate, for Want of Issue by the young Lady, or by her Death, should be devolved upon the young Man who was to marry her, and his Heirs for ever; and that this should be settled by Act of Parliament in *Scotland*." Matters being drawn to this Length, and Writings being to be prepared, it was now necessary that this young Gentleman must have a Name, and the *Scots* Advocate had prepared a Draught, in which He was styled the King's natural Son: And the King was every Day pressed by the great Lady, and those young Men who knew the Customs of *France*, to create him a Nobleman of *England*; and was indeed very willing to be advised to that Purpose.

TILL this Time, this whole Matter was treated in secret amongst the *Scots*: But now the King thought fit to consult it with others; and telling the Chancellor of all that had past, shewed him the Draught prepared by the *Scots* Advocate, and asked him "what He thought of it," and likewise implied, "that He thought fit to give him some Title of Honour." After He had read it over, He told his Majesty, "that He need not give him any other Title of Honour than He would enjoy by his Marriage, by which He would by the Law of *Scotland* be called Earl of *Buccleuch*, which would be Title enough; and

He is contracted to the Countess of Buccleuch.

The King consults the Chancellor about this Son.

The Chancellor's Advice.

“and He desired his Majesty to pardon him, if He found
 “Fault with and disliked the Title They had given
 “him who prepared that Draught, wherein They had
 “presumed to stile him the King’s natural Son, which
 “was never, at least, in many Ages, used in *England*,
 “and would have an ill Sound in *England* with all his
 “People, who thought that those unlawful Acts ought
 “to be concealed, and not published and justified.
 “That *France* indeed had, with Inconvenience enough
 “to the Crown, raised some Families of those Births;
 “but it was always from Women of great Quality,
 “and who had never been tainted with any other Fa-
 “miliarity. And that there was another Circum-
 “stance required in *Spain*, which his Majesty should
 “do well to observe in this Case, if He had taken a
 “Resolution in the Main; which was, that the King
 “took Care for the good Education of that Child whom
 “He believed to be his, but never publicly owned
 “or declared him to be such, till He had given some
 “notable Evidence of his inheriting or having ac-
 “quired such Virtues and Qualities, as made him in
 “the Eyes of all Men worthy of such a Descent.
 “That this Gentleman was yet young, and not yet
 “to be judged of: And therefore if He were for the
 “present married to this young Lady, and assumed
 “her Title as He must do, his Majesty might defer
 “for some Years making any such Declaration;
 “which He might do when He would, and which
 “at present would be as unpopular an Action in the
 “Hearts of his Subjects as He could commit.”

THOUGH the King did not seem to concur in all
 that was said, He did not appear at all offended,
 and only asked him, “whether He had not confer-
 “red with the Queen his Mother upon that Subject.”
 When He assured him, “He had not, nor with any
 “other Person, and though He had heard some
 “general Discourse of his Majesty’s Purpose to make
 “that Marriage, He had never heard either of the
 “other Particulars mentioned;” the King said, “He
 “had

“had Reason to ask the Question, because many of those Things which He had said had been spoken to him by the Queen his Mother, who was entirely of his Opinion, which She used not to be;” and concluded, “that He would confer with them together,” seeming for the present to be more moved and doubtful in the Matter of the Declaration, than in the other of the Creation; and said, “there was no Reason, since She brought all the Estate, that She should receive no Addition by her Husband.” The Queen afterwards took an Occasion to speak at large to the Chancellor of it with much Warmth, and Manifestation that She did not like it. But the King spake with neither of them afterwards upon it, but signed the Declaration, and created him to be Duke of *Monmouth*; very few Persons dissuading it, and the Lady employing all her Credit to bring it to pass: And the Earl of *Bristol* (who in those difficult Cases was usually consulted) pressed it as the only Way to make the King’s Friendship valuable.

The King publicly creates his Son, and creates him Duke of Monmouth.

SINCE the Earl of *Bristol* is mentioned upon this Occasion, it will not be unreasonable to give him the next Part in this Relation. Though He had left no Way unattempted to render himself gracious to the King, by saying and doing all that might be acceptable unto him, and contriving such Meetings and Jollities as He was pleased with; and though his Majesty had been several Ways very bountiful to him, and had particularly given him at one Time ten thousand Pounds in Money, with which He had purchased *Wimbledon* of the Queen, and had given him *Asbdown-Forest* and other Lands in *Suffex*: Yet He found He had not that Degree of Favour and Interest in the King’s Affections, as He desired, or desired that other People should think He had. The Change of his Religion kept him from being admitted to the Council, or to any Employment of Moment. And whereas He made no Doubt of drawing the whole Dependence of the *Roman Catholics* upon

upon himself, and to have the Disposal of that Interest, and to that Purpose had the *Jesuits* firm to him; He found that He had no Kind of Credit with them, nor was admitted by them to their most secret Consultations, and that the Fathers of the Society had more Enemies than Friends amongst the *Catholicks*.

HIS Estate had been sold and settled by his own Consent, upon the Marriage of his eldest Son twice to great Fortunes: So that when He returned from beyond the Seas, He could not return to his Estate as others did, and had little more to subsist upon than the King's Bounty; and that was not poured out upon him in the Measure He wished, though few Persons tasted more of it. He was in his Nature very covetous, and ready to embrace all Ways that were offered to get Money, whether honourable or no, for He had not a great Power over himself, and could not bear Want, which He could hardly avoid, for He was nothing provident in his Expenses, when He had any Temptation from his Ambition or Vanity. Besides, his Appetite to Play and Gaming, in which He had no Skill, and by which He had all his Life spent whatever He could get, was not at all abated. He spent as much Money at *Wimbledon* in building and gardening, as the Land was worth.

By all these Means He found himself in Streights, which He could neither endure nor get from, and which transported him to that Degree, that He resolved to treat the King in another Manner than He had ever yet presumed to do. And having asked somewhat of him that his Majesty did not think fit to grant, He told him, "He knew well the Cause of
 " his withdrawing his Favour from him; that it
 " proceeded only from the Chancellor, who governed
 " him and managed all his Affairs, whilst himself
 " spent his Time only in Pleasures and Debauchery."
 And in this Passion upbraided him with many Excesses, to which no Man had contributed more than
 He

*The Earl of
 Bristol's ex-
 traordinary
 Behaviour to
 the King.*

He had done. He said many Truths which ought to have been more modestly and decently mentioned, and all this in the Presence of the Lord *Aubigny*, who was as much surpris'd as the King; and concluded, "that if He did not give him Satisfaction within such "a Time" (the Time allowed did not exceed four and twenty Hours), "He would do somewhat that "would awaken him out of his Slumber, and make "him look better to his own Business;" and added many Threats against the Chancellor. The King stood all this Time in such Confusion, that though He gave him more sharp Words than were natural to him, He had not that Presentness of Mind (as He afterwards accused himself) as He ought to have had; and said, "He ought presently to have called "for the Guard," it being in his own Closet, "and "sent him to the *Tower*."

THE Court and the Town was full of the Discourse that the Earl of *Bristol* would accuse the Chancellor of High Treason, who knew Nothing of what had pass'd with the King. And it seems when the Time was pass'd that He prescribed to the King to give him Satisfaction, He came one Morning to the House of Peers with a Paper in his Hand; and told the Lords, "that He could not but observe, that He accuses the Chancellor of High Treason. "after so glorious a Return with which God had "blessed the King and the Nation, so that all the "World had expected, that the Prosperity of the "Kingdom would have far exceeded the Misery and "Adversity that it had for many Years endured; "and after the Parliament had contributed more towards it, than ever Parliament had done: Notwithstanding all which, it was evident to all Men, "and lamented by those who wish'd well to his Majesty, that his Affairs grew every Day worse and "worse; the King himself lost much of his Honour, "and the Affection He had in the Hearts of the "People. That for his Part He looked upon it with "as much Sadness as any Man, and had made En-
"quiry

“ upon them as a Libel against himself more than a
 “ Charge against the Chancellor, who upon his Know-
 “ ledge was innocent in all the Particulars charged
 “ upon him ;” which Report the Lord Chamberlain
 made the next Morning to the House : And at the
 same Time the Judges declared their Opinion unani-
 mously, “ that the whole Charge contained Nothing
 “ of Treason though it were all true.” Upon which
 the Earl of *Bristol*, especially upon what the Lord
 Chamberlain had reported from the King, appeared
 in great Confusion, and lamented his Condition,
 “ that He, for endeavouring to serve his Country
 “ upon the Impulsion of his Conscience, was dis-
 “ countenanced, and threatened with the Anger and
 “ Displeasure of his Prince ; whilst his Adversary
 “ kept his Place in the House, and had the Judges
 “ so much at his Devotion that They would not cer-
 “ tify against him.” The Chancellor moved the
 House, “ that a short Day might be given to the
 “ Earl, to bring in his Evidence to prove the several
 “ Matters of his Charge ; otherwise that He might
 “ have such Reparation, as was in their Judgments
 “ proportionable to the Indignity.” The Earl said,
 “ He should not fail to produce Witnesses to prove
 “ all He had alleged, and more : But that He could
 “ not appoint a Time when He could be ready for
 “ a Hearing, because many of his most important
 “ Witnesses were beyond the Seas, some at *Paris*,
 “ and others in other Places ; and that He must
 “ examine the Duke of *Ormond* who was Lieutenant
 “ in *Ireland*, and the Earl of *Lauterdale* who was
 “ then in *Scotland*, and must desire Commissioners to
 “ that Purpose.”

*The Earl of
 Bristol ab-
 sconds upon
 the King's
 Warrant to
 apprehend
 him.*

BUT from that Day He made no farther Instance :
 And understanding that the King had given War-
 rants to a Sergeant at Arms to apprehend him, He
 concealed himself in several Places for the Space of
 near two Years ; sending sometimes Letters and Pe-
 titions by his Wife to the King, who would not re-
 ceive

ceive them. But in the End his Majesty was prevailed with by the Lady and Sir *Harry Bennet* so see him in private; but would not admit him to come to the Court, nor repeal his Warrants for his Apprehension: So that He appeared not publickly till the Chancellor's Misfortune; and then He came to the Court and to the Parliament in great Triumph, and shewed a more impotent Malice than was expected from his Generosity and Understanding.

We shall in the next Place take a View of *Scotland*, The Affairs of Scotland. whither We left *Middleton* sent the King's Commissioner, who performed his Part with wonderful Dexterity and Conduct, and with more Success than some
 11) of his Countrymen were pleased with. We have remembered before the Debate upon his Instructions, and the earnest Advice and Caution given by *Lautherdale* against any hasty Attempt to make Alteration in the Matters of the Church, which was at last left to the Discretion of the Commissioner, to proceed in such a Manner, and at such a Time, as He found most convenient. As soon as He came thither, He The Commis- sioner well received. found himself received with as universal an Exclamation, and the King's Authority as cheerfully submitted to, as can be imagined or could be wished; and such a Consent to every Thing He proposed, that He made no Question but any Thing his Majesty required would find an entire Obedience. The Earl of *Glen-carne* who was Chancellor, and the Earl of *Roths*, and all the Nobility of any Interest or Credit, were not only faithful to the King but fast Friends to *Middleton*, and magnified his Conduct in all their Letters.

THE Earl of *Crawford* alone who was Treasurer, which is an Office that cannot be unattended by a great Faction in that Kingdom, retained still his rigid Affection for the Presbytery, when the Ministers themselves grew much less rigid, and were even ashamed of the many Follies and Madneses They had committed. But the Earl of *Crawford* did all

He could to raise their Spirits, and to keep them firm to the Kirk. In all other Particulars He was full of Devotion to the King, being entirely of the Faction of *Hamilton*, and nearly allied to it; and when the King was in *Scotland* had served him signally, and had then been made by him High Treasurer of that Kingdom; and upon *Cromwell's* prevailing and Conjunction with *Argyle*, was as odious as any Man to them Both, and had for many Years been Prisoner in *England* till the Time of the King's Return. There was always a great Friendship between him and *Lautherdale*; the former being a Man of much the greater Interest, and of unquestionable Courage; the other excelling him in all the Faculties which are necessary to Business, and being a Master in Diffimulation.

MIDDLETON, and the Lords who went with him, and the General (upon whose Advice the King depended as much in the Business of *Scotland*) were all earnest with his Majesty to remove the Earl of *Crawford* from that great Office, which would enable him to do Mischief. But the King's good Nature prevailed over him, though He knew him as well as They did: And He thought it too hardhearted a Thing to remove a Man, whom He found a Prisoner for his Service, from an Office He had formerly conferred upon him for his Merit, and which He had not forfeited by any Miscalriage. And it may be it was some Argument to him of his Sincerity, that when others, who to his Majesty's own Knowledge were as rigid *Presbyterians* as He, were now very frank in renouncing and disclaiming all Obligations from it, He of all the Nobility was the only Man who still adhered to it, when it was evident to him that He should upon the Matter be undone by it. However the King sent him down with the rest into *Scotland*, being confident that He would do Nothing to disserve him, as in Truth He never did; and resolved that, when the Business of the Church came to be agitated,

agitated, if He did continue still refractory, He would take the Staff from him, and confer it upon *Middleton*: Who, though all things were very fair between him and *Lautberdale*, to whom all his Dispatches must be addressed, yet depended more upon those of the *Eng'ish* Council, to whom the King had required the Secretary to communicate all that He received from the Commissioner, and all the Dispatches which He should make to him. And by this Means no Orders were sent from the King which restrained him from
 12) proceeding in the Matter of the Church according to Discretion, as He was appointed by his Instructions; though *Lautberdale* did not dissemble, when Letters came from *Scotland* “of the good Posture the King’s Affairs were in there, and that any Thing might be brought to pass that He desired,” to receive other Letters to which He gave more Credit; and was still as solicitous that Nothing might be attempted with Reference to the Kirk.

As soon as the Parliament was convened at *Edin-* *Proceedings of the Scotch Parliament.*
burgh, and the Commissioner found the Temper of them to be such as He could wish, the Marquis of *Argyle*, (who had been sent by Sea from the *Tower of London* to *Leith*) was brought to his Trial upon many *The Marquis of Argyle tried, condemned and executed.*
 Articles of Treason and Murder; wherein all his Confederacies with *Cromwell* were laid open, and much insisted upon to prove his being privy to the Resolution of taking the King’s Life, and advising it: And though there was great Reason to suspect it, and most Men believed it, the Proofs were not clear enough to convict him. But then the Evidence was so full and clear of so many horrid Murders committed by his Order upon Persons in his Displeasure, and his immediate possessing himself of their Estates, and other monstrous and unheard of Acts of Oppression; that the Parliament condemned him to be hanged upon a Gallows of an unusual Height, and in or near the Place where He had caused the Marquis of *Mountrose* to be formerly executed: All which was per-

*Gilapfy a
Fanatick exci-
tated.*

formed the same Day with the universal Joy of the People; the unfortunate Person himself shewing more Resolution and Courage than was expected from him; and expressing much Affection and Zeal for the *Covenant*, for which He desired all Men should believe He was put to Death. There was likewise one seditious Preacher, *Gilapfy*, who had been a notorious and malicious Rebel against the last and the present King, underwent the same Trial and Judgment, with the same Faith in the *Covenant*, and without Shew of Repentance. And it was much wondered at, that no more of that Tribe, which had kindled the Fire that had almost burned two Kingdoms, and never had endeavoured to extinguish it, were ever brought to Justice; and that the Lives of two Men should be thought a sufficient Sacrifice for that Kingdom to offer for all the Mischief it had done.

*The Parlia-
ment petition
the King to
restore Epis-
copacy.*

WHEN this Work was done, the Parliament without Hesitation repealed all those Acts prejudicial to the Crown and the Royal Dignity, which had been made since the Beginning of the Rebellion, and upon which all the Rebellions had been founded; and branded their beloved *Covenant* with all the Reproaches it deserved, and this even with the Consent and Approbation of the General Assembly of the Kirk. By all which the Obstructions were removed; and it was now in the Power of the King to make Bishops as heretofore, and to settle the Church in the same Government to which it had formerly been subject. But the Commissioner thought not this enough; and apprehended that the King might yet be persuaded, though there was no such Appearance, "that the People were against it, and that it would be better to defer it:" And therefore the Parliament prepared a Petition to the King, highly aggravating the Wickedness of the former Time in destroying Episcopacy, without which They could not have brought their wicked Devices to pass; and therefore They were humble Suitors to his Majesty, "that He would
" make

“make Choice of such grave Divines, as He thought
 “fit to be consecrated Bishops, for all the vacant
 “Sees,” they being at that Time all vacant, there
 being not one Bishop of the Nation alive.

- 13) AND the Commissioner having declared that He <sup>*They prepare
an Abjuration
of the Cove-
nant.*</sup> meant to prorogue the Parliament, They appointed
 a Draught of an Oath or Subscription to be prepared
 against the next Session, whereby every Man, who
 was possessed of a Church or any other Ecclesiastical
 Promotion in that Kingdom, should be bound to re-
 nounce the *Covenant* upon the Penalty of being de-
 prived; intimating likewise, that They resolved, at
 the next Meeting “that no Man should be capable
 “of holding any Office, or of being a Privy Coun-
 “sellor, who would not formally subscribe the
 “same.”

THEY settled a standing Militia of forty thousand <sup>*And settle a
standing
Force.*</sup> Men, to be always ready to march upon the King's
 Orders; and raised two good Troops of Horse, and
 provided for the Payment of them; and granted such
 a Sum of Money to the King, as could be reasonably
 expected from so poor and harrassed a Country, and
 which would serve the defraying the necessary Ex-
 penses thereof. And all this being done, and the <sup>*The Commis-
sioner returns
to London.*</sup> Prorogation made, the Commissioner and some of the
 other Lords came to *London* to kiss the King's Hand,
 and to receive his farther Directions, having so fully
 dispatched all his former Orders. They brought
 likewise with them some other Propositions, which
 will be mentioned anon.

THE King received the Commissioner with open
 Arms, and was very well pleased with all that He
 had done; and Nobody seemed to magnify it more
 than *Lautberdale*, who was least satisfied with it. Nor
 could He now longer oppose the making of Bishops
 there: So having presented the Names of such Per-
 sons to the King who were thought fit to be conse-
 crated Bishops, whereof some had been with his Ma-
 jesty abroad, They were all sent for to *London*; and such

Scotch Bi-
shops con-
secrated.

of them who had not before received their Ordination from a Bishop, but from the Presbytery in *Scotland*, whereof the Archbishop of *St. Andrews* was one, first received Orders of Deacon and Priest from the Bishop of *London*, and were afterwards consecrated in the usual Form by the Bishops who were then near the Town, and made so great a Feast as if it had been at the Charge of their Country.

The Scotch
desire the
English Gar-
risons may be
withdrawn.

THE Commissioner, the Chancellor, the Earl of *Rothes* and others, with the Lord *Lautberdale*, were deputed by the Parliament to be humble Suitors to the King; "since They had performed on their Part all that was of the Duty of good Subjects, and were ready to give any other Testimony of their Obedience that his Majesty would require; and since the whole Kingdom was entirely at his Devotion, and in such a Posture that They were able as well as willing to preserve the Peace thereof, and to suppress any seditious Party that should attempt any Disturbance; that his Majesty would now remove the *English* Garrisons from thence, and permit the Fortifications and Works, which had been erected at a vast Charge, to be demolished, that there might remain no Monuments of the Slavery They had undergone." And this They demanded as in Justice due to them, "since there were few Men now alive, none in the least Power, who had contributed to the Ills which had been committed; and all the Men of Power had undergone for ten or a dozen Years as great Oppression as could be put upon them, because They would not renounce their Fidelity to the King: And since it had pleased God to restore his Majesty, They hoped He would not continue those Yokes and Shackles upon them, which had been prepared and put upon them to keep them from returning to their Allegiance."

THIS was proposed in the Presence of those of the *English* Council, who had been formally admitted

to be of the Council of *Scotland*, and continued to meet upon that Affair. The *Scots* Lords enlarged with much Warmth “upon the intolerable Oppression that Nation had undergone, on the Poverty They still suffered, and the Impossibility of being able to bear any Part of the Charge, and the Jealousy that it would keep up between the Nations, which could not be to the King’s Profit and Convenience.” They had privately spoken before with the King upon it, and had prevailed with him to think what They desired had Reason and Justice in it; and the *English* Lords could not upon the sudden, and without Conference together, resolve what was fit for them to say: So that They desired, without expressing any Inclination in the Matter, “that the Debate might be put off to another Day;” which the *Scots* took very ill, as if the very deferring it were an Argument that They thought it might be denied. But when They saw They would not presently speak to it, They were content that another Day should be appointed for the Consideration of it: And They afterwards desired the King, “that He would call the Committee of the *English* Council, who used to attend him in the most secret Affairs, to consult what was to be done.” Nobody could deny but that the *Scots* had Reason to demand it. And They who thought it a Bridle fit to keep in their Mouths, to restrain them from future Rebellions which They might be inclined to, could not easily resolve what Answer should be given to them in the Negative. And They who thought the Demand to be so just and reasonable, and so much for the King’s Benefit and Advantage, that it ought to be granted, did believe likewise that it was a Thing so capable of Censure and Reproach, in Regard of the general Prejudice which the *English* have against that People, that no particular Person was able to bear the Odium of the Advice; nor that the King himself should take the Resolution upon himself without very mature Deliberation.

THAT

*Some Circum-
stances that
facilitate their
Request.*

THAT which advanced the Proposition as fit to be granted, was the Charge of maintaining those Forces; which that Kingdom was so incapable of bearing, that *Middleton* and *Glencarne* (whose Duties and entire Devotion to the King were above all Exception or Suspicion) declared not only to the King, but to those of the Lords with whom They would confer freely, "that if the King thought it necessary to keep that People still there, He must send more Forces of Horse and Foot thither; otherwise They were not strong enough to subdue the whole Kingdom, but would as soon as They stirred out of their Gar-risons be knocked in the Head; nor would the Country pay any Thing towards their Support, but what should be extorted by Force: So that his Majesty would not be thought to possess that Kingdom in Peace, which otherwise He would unquestionably do."

AND this Consideration was improved by the Reflection upon the Body of Men of which those Forces consisted, which was a Parcel of the worst affected Men to the King of the whole Army, and which the General had therefore left in *Scotland*, when He marched into *England*, under the Command of Major General *Morgan* (who was worthy of any Trust), because He was not sure enough of their Fidelity to take them with him, yet thought them fit enough to be left to restrain the *Scots* from any sudden Insurrection. But now They saw all their Model brought to Confusion, They were not so much above Temptation, but that They might, especially if They were drawn together, concur in any desperate Design with a discontented Party in *Scotland*, or with their Brethren of the disbanded Army of *England*, who at that Season had rebellious Resolutions in the *North*. And which was of no small Importance, there was at this very Time an Opportunity to transport all those Forces (the very disbanding⁽¹¹⁵⁾ whereof would not be without Danger for the Reasons afore-

aforesaid) to *Portugal*, in Compliance with the King's Obligation upon his Marriage.

ON the contrary, it was very notorious that the People generally throughout *England*, of what Quality soever, a few *London Presbyterians* excepted, were marvellously pleased to see the *Scots* so admirably chastised and yoked; nor had *Cromwell* ever done an Act that more reconciled the Affections of the *English* to him, than his most rigorous Treatment of that Nation. And They never contributed Money so willingly towards any of his Designs, as for the erecting those Forts in the several Quarters of the Kingdom; which, with a little Addition of Force, They had good Experience would suffice to keep it from giving any Disturbance to their Neighbours. And the demolishing all those Structures in one Instant, and leaving an unquiet and an impoverished People to their own Inclinations, could not be grateful.

THE King had, during the Time that He resided in *Scotland* before his March to *Worcester*, contracted, and had brought with him from thence, a perfect Detestation of their Kirk and Presbyterian Government, and a great Prejudice against the whole Family of *Argyle* and some other Persons. But He was exceedingly reconciled to the Nation; and besides the Esteem He had of the Persons of very many Noblemen, He did really believe the Burgeses and common People to be as heartily affected to him, and as much at his Disposal, as any Subjects He had. And the Lord *Lauterdale* cultivated this gracious Credulity with so much Diligence, that He assured the King, "that He might depend upon the whole *Scots* Nation as upon one Man, to be employed in his Service and Commands of what Kind soever, and against what Enemy soever." His Majesty upon ^{The King for} the Debate of this Business declared, "that He did" "not only think it good Husbandry in Respect of" "the Expence, and good Policy, that He might" "keep *Scotland* entirely at his Devotion, whilst *Ire-*"
"land

“*land* remained in this Confusion, and *England* itself “was threatened by such Factions in Religion, to “gratify them in what They desired; but that He “held himself obliged in Honour, Justice and Con- “science, to send all the Forces out of that King- “dom, and to deface the Monuments of that Time: “And that there would be no more to be consulted, “but what to do with those Forces” (which was quickly resolved, that They should be all sent for *Portugal*; and Order was presently given for Ships upon which They were to be embarked), “and then to “consider in what Method the other should be done.”

THE *Scots* were very well satisfied with the King’s Resolution upon the Main, but troubled at somewhat that the *English* Lords proposed for the Way, “that “the Privy Council first, and then the Parliament, “should be informed of his Majesty’s Intentions: “Which,” They said, “would be against the Ho- “nour and the Interest and the Right of *Scotland*, “which never submitted any of their Concernments “to be debated at the Council-Board of *England*; “and the Innovation would be no less in remitting “it to the Parliament, which had no Pretence of “Jurisdiction over them.” To Both which They were answered, “that the withdrawing the *English* “Forces, and demolishing the *English* Fortifications, “concerned *England* no less than the other Kingdom; “and that his Majesty did not intend it should be “proposed to them, as a Thing of which He made “any Doubt or required their Advice, but only as a “Matter of Fact, which would prevent all Murmur- “ings or Censures, which otherwise might arise.” The *English* Lords desired, “that the King’s Orders “might be very positive, and that the Commissioner “might see them executed, for the utter demolishing⁽¹⁾ “all those Fortifications which the *English* were to “abandon, that they might not be continued for “the Entertainment of new Garrisons of the Natives, “which would administer Matter of new Jealousies:”

All

All which They cheerfully consented to, well knowing that They might afterwards perform what They found convenient ; and many did since believe, that there remains enough in some of the Places to be Shelter to a Rebellion hereafter.

THE King appointed the Chancellor to make a Relation, at a Conference between the two Houses of Parliament, “ of the good Posture his Majesty’s Affairs of *Scotland* stood in ; of their having repealed “ all those ill Laws which had been made by the “ Advantage of the Rebellion, and all that concerned “ the Church ; upon which that his Majesty forth- “ with resolved to settle Bishops in that Kingdom, “ which appeared very unanimously devoted to his “ Service : And that the King could not but communicate this good News to them, which He “ knew would give them Cause of rejoicing.” And then He told them “ that the *Scots* Parliament, in “ Regard of the Peace and Quiet that They enjoyed, “ without the least Apprehension of Trouble from “ abroad or at Home, had desired the King, *that the “ English Forces might be withdrawn and all the Fortifications razed* ; and that those Forces might be “ convenient, if his Majesty thought fit, to be transported to *Portugal* ;” without discovering what his Majesty had resolved to do, or asking any Opinion from them, which however They might have given if They pleased. The Effect was, that Both Houses sent their humble Thanks to the King “ for his having vouchsafed to let them know the good Condition of *Scotland*, of which They wished his Majesty “ much Joy ; and hoped his other Dominions would “ in a short Time be in the same Tranquillity :” Without taking any Notice of withdrawing the Garrisons. And so that Affair ended.

The English Parliament do not oppose it.

DURING this Agitation in *London*, it was discernable enough that there were great Jealousies between the *Scots* Lords. The Commissioner and the other had Cause to believe, that the King gave much more Credit

Credit to *Lautberdale* than to them, and looked upon him as a Man of great Interest in that Country, when They knew He had none, being neither in his Quality or Fortune amongst those who were esteemed Men of Power and Dependance. And He thought them linked in a Faction against him, to lessen the Value the King had of him, which indeed was the Foundation of all his Credit and Interest. What Countenance soever He set upon it, He was sensibly afflicted at the Downfal of the Presbytery, and that *Middleton* had brought that to pass without any Difficulty (as He had before told the King He would), which He had assured his Majesty was impossible to be effected but in long Time and by many Stratagems.

THE Marquis of *Argyle* had been a Man universally odious to the whole Nation, some Ministers and Preachers excepted: And there had been always thought to have been an implacable Animosity from *Lautberdale* towards him; and after the King's Return no Man had appeared more against him, nor more insisted upon his not being admitted to his Majesty's Presence, or for his being sent into *Scotland* to be tried. Yet after all this it was discovered, that He had interposed all He could with his Majesty to save him, and employed all his Interest in *Scotland* to the same Purpose. And the Marquis was no sooner executed, but the Earl of *Lautberdale* had prevailed with the King immediately to give his Son the Lord *Lorne* (who had remained in *London* to solicit on his⁽¹⁾ Father's Behalf) Leave to kiss his Hand, and to create him Earl of *Argyle*, and to confer on him the Office of General Justice in the *Highlands*, by which his Father had been qualified to do most of the Wickednesses He had committed; all which the Parliament of *Scotland* should have treated as the most sensible Affront to them that They could undergo.

*Lord Lorne
restored, and
created Earl
of Argyle.*

It was well known that this young Man, who was Captain of the King's Guard when He was in *Scotland*, had treated his Majesty with that Rudeness
and

and Barbarity, that He was much more odious to him than his Father; and in all the Letters which *Lautberdale* had found Opportunity to write, whilst He was a Prisoner in *England*, to the King when He was beyond the Seas, He inveighed equally against the Son as the Father, and never gave him any other Title than THAT TOAD'S BIRD: So that Nobody could imagine from whence this Change could proceed, but from a Design to preserve an Interest in the Presbyterian Party against the Time He should have Occasion to use them.

THEN there were Circumstances in this Grace of the King to the Lord *Lorne*, that exceeded all Men's Comprehension: For his Majesty caused all the Estate of the Marquis of *Argyle*, which did not appear in any Degree so considerable as it was generally believed to have been, to be seized upon as forfeited to him; and then would grant it to the Son so absolutely, that neither the Owners should recover what had been injuriously and violently taken from them for their Loyalty to the King, nor the Creditors receive Satisfaction for the just Debts which were due to them, and which must have been satisfied if the King had retained the Forfeiture. But upon the Application of the Commissioner and the other Lords, that the King would hear all Persons concerned, there was some Mitigation in those Particulars, notwithstanding all the Opposition which *Lautberdale* did barefaced make on the Behalf of the Lord *Lorne*, and which the other bore with great Indignation: Which He knew very well, and did believe that the Oath and Subscription, which He well knew They had contrived for the next Session of Parliament, was levelled at him; that not taking it, as They did not believe He would do, the Secretary of *Scotland's* Place might become void, which They had much rather should have been in any Man's Hand than in his. And therefore He took all Occasions to profess and declare, besides his constant Raillery against the Presbytery, "that if
" They

"They should require him to subscribe that He is
 "a *Turk*, He would do it before He would lose his
 "Office."

THE Matter of these Offences being most in private, and so not publickly taken Notice of, They made a fair Shew and kept good Quarter towards each other. And the King consenting to all that the Commissioner proposed with Reference to the Publick, being indeed abundantly satisfied with his Comportment, and at parting promising to give him the Office of Treasurer, when by *Crawford's* refusing to subscribe it should become void; They, with all their Bishops, returned again for *Scotland* with incurable Jealousy of *Lautberdale*, who remained waiting upon the King, and resolved to cross all their Designs He could, and quietly to expect a better Opportunity to undo what He could not for the present prevent.

The Commissioner and Bishops return to Scotland.

The English Parliament meets.

IT is Time now to return to the Parliament of *England*, which, according to the Time of the Prorogation, met again in *March* towards the Entrance into the Year 1664: When at their first Meeting the King informed them at large of the Insurrection that had been endeavoured in the Summer before in *Yorkshire*, which, how foolishly soever contrived, was a very great Instance of the Distemper of the Nation; that three Years after the disbanding of the Army, the Officers thereof should remain still so unquiet, as to hope to give any signal Disturbance to the Peace of the Kingdom, by such a Commotion as They could upon their Credit raise.

An Insurrection intended in Yorkshire.

THE continual Discourse of Plots and Insurrections had so wearied the King, that He even resolved to give no more Countenance to any such Informations, nor to trouble himself with Inquiry into them; but to leave the Peace of the Kingdom against any such Attempts to the Vigilance of the civil Magistrates, and the Care of the Officers of the Militia, which He presumed would be sufficient to quell and suppress any ordinary fanatick Design. And upon this Resolution,

lution, and to avoid the Reproach of the late Times, of contriving Plots only to commit Men to Prison against whom there was any Prejudice, He totally neglected the first Information He received of this seditious Purpose. But when the Intelligence was continued from several Parts, and so particular for the Time and Place of the Rendezvous, and for the seizing upon the City of *York*; and there was Evidence that some Men of Estate and Fortune, and who were held wary and discreet Men, were engaged in it; his Majesty thought it Time to provide against it, and not only commended the Care of it to the Lords Lieutenants and Deputy Lieutenants of the Counties adjacent, but sent likewise several Troops of his own Horse to possess the City of *York* before the Day appointed, and to attend some of the Places of the Rendezvous. And They came very seasonably, and surprised many upon the very Place, before their Com-^{But prevent-}pany was strong enough to make Resistance. Others did make some Resistance, but quickly fled and were dispersed. Many were taken, and upon their Examination behaved themselves as if They were sure to be quickly rescued; for it appeared that They did believe that the Insurrection would have been general throughout the Kingdom, and that all the disbanded Army would have been brought together at several Rendezvouses.

ALL the Prisons in the *North* were so full, that the King thought it necessary to send down four or five of the Judges of the several Benches of *Westminster-Hall* to *York*, with a Commission of *Oyer and Terminer*, to examine the whole Matter. There, though the Judges did not believe that They had discovered the Bottom of the whole Conspiracy, They found Cause to condemn very many; whereof seventeen or eighteen were executed, some reprieved, and very many left in Prison to be tried at the next Assizes. Amongst those who were executed, the Man who was most looked upon was one *Rymer*, of the Quality

*Some of the
Plotters executed.*

of the better Sort of Grand-Jurymen, and held a wise Man, and was known to be trusted by the greatest Men who had been in Rebellion: And He was discovered by a Person of intimate Trust with him, who had heretofore the same Affections with him, but would venture no more. He was a fullen Man, and used few Words to excuse himself, and none to hurt any Body else; though He was thought to know much, and that having a good Estate He would never have embarked in a Design that had no Probability of Success. Some of the Prisoners declared, "that They were assured by those who engaged them, that such and such great Men would appear at the Rendezvous or soon after." But that was not thought a sufficient Ground to trouble any Man, though some of them were very liable to Suspicion; since in all Combinations of that Kind, it is a most usual Artifice to work upon weak Men, by persuading them that other Men, of whom They have great Esteem, are engaged in it, who in Truth know Nothing of it.

THE Judges were returned from *York* little Time before the Parliament met; and therefore the King thought it fit to awaken them to much Vigilance, by informing them with what Secrecy that Conspiracy had been carried. And his Majesty assured them, "that He was not yet at the Bottom of that Business; and that it appeared manifestly, that this Conspiracy was but a Branch of that which He had discovered as well as He could to them about two Years since, and had been then executed nearer Hand, if He had not by God's Goodness come to the Knowledge of some of the principal Contrivers, and so secured them from doing the Mischief They intended."

*The King's
Speech at the
Meeting of the
Parliament.*

HIS Majesty told them, "that They would wonder, (yet He said what was true) that They were now even in those Parts, when They see their Friends under Trial and Execution, still pursuing the

“ the same Consultations : And it was evident that
 “ They had Correspondence with desperate Persons
 “ in most Counties, and a standing Council in *Lon-*
 “ *don* itself, from which They received their Directions,
 “ and by whom They were advised to defer their last
 “ intended Insurrection. But those Orders served on-
 “ ly to distract them, and came too late to prevent
 “ their Destruction.” He said, “ He knew more of
 “ their Intrigues, than They thought He did ; and
 “ hoped He should shortly discover the Bottom : In
 “ the mean Time He desired the Parliament, that
 “ They might all be as watchful to prevent, as They
 “ were to contrive their Mischief.” He said, “ He
 “ could not upon this Occasion omit to tell them,
 “ that these desperate Men in their Counsels (as ap-
 “ peared by several Examinations) had not been all
 “ of one Mind in the Ways of carrying on their
 “ wicked Resolutions. Some would still insist upon
 “ the Authority of the Long Parliament, of which
 “ They say They have Members enough willing to
 “ meet : Others have fancied to themselves, by some
 “ Computation of their own, upon some Clause in
 “ the *Triennial Bill*, that this present Parliament was
 “ at an End some Months since ; and that for Want of
 “ new Writs They may assemble themselves, and choose
 “ Members for Parliament ; and that this is the best
 “ Expedient to bring themselves together for their
 “ other Purposes. For the Long Parliament,” his
 “ Majesty said, “ that He and They together could
 “ do no more than He had done to inform and
 “ compose the Minds of Men ; let them proceed
 “ upon that at their Peril. But He thought there
 “ had been Nothing done to disabuse Men in Respect
 “ of the *Triennial Bill*. He confessed that He had
 “ often himself read over that Bill ; and though there
 “ is no Colour for the Fancy of the Determination
 “ of this Parliament ; yet He would not deny to
 “ them, that He had always expected that They
 “ would, and even wondered that They had not

“considered the wonderful Clauses in that Bill, which
 “had passed in a Time very uncareful for the Digni-
 “ty of the Crown, or the Security of the People.”
 His Majesty desired the Speaker and the Gentlemen
 of the House of Commons, “that They would once
 “give that *Triennial Bill* a Reading in their House;
 “and then in God’s Name They might do what
 “They thought fit for him, themselves, and the
 “whole Kingdom.” His Majesty said, “that He
 “needed not tell them how much He loved Parlia-
 “ments: Never King was so much beholden to Par-
 “liaments as He had been; nor did He think that
 “the Crown could ever be happy without frequent
 “Parliaments. But He wished them to assure them-
 “selves, that if He should think otherwise, He would
 “never suffer a Parliament to come together, by the
 “Means prescribed by that Bill.”

He renewed his Thanks to them “for the free⁽²²⁶⁾
 “Supply They gave him the last Session of four
 “Subsidies; yet He could not but tell them, that
 “that Supply was fallen much short of what He ex-
 “pected and They intended. That it would hardly
 “be believed, yet They knew it to be true, that
 “very many Persons, who have Estates of three or
 “four thousand Pounds by the Year, do not pay
 “for these four Subsidies sixteen Pounds: So that
 “whereas They intended and declared, *that they should*
 “*be collected according to former Precedents*, they do not
 “now arise to Half the Proportion they did in the
 “Time of Queen *Elizabeth*; and yet sure the Crown
 “wants more now than it did then, and the Subject
 “is at least as well able to give.” His Majesty said,
 “the Truth is, by the License of the late ill Time,
 “and ill Humour of this, too many of the People,
 “and even of those who make fair Professions, be-
 “lieve it to be no Sin to defraud the Crown of any
 “Thing that is due to it. That They no sooner
 “gave him *Tonnage and Poundage*, than Men were
 “devising all the Means They could to steal Custom;

“nor

“ nor could the Farmers be so vigilant for the Col-
 “ lection, as others were to steal the Duties. They
 “ gave him the *Excise*, which all People abroad be-
 “ lieved to be the most insensible Imposition that can
 “ be laid upon a People: What Conspiracies and
 “ Combinations were entered into against it by the
 “ Brewers, who He was sure did not bear the Bur-
 “ den themselves, even to bring that Revenue to No-
 “ thing, They would hear in *Westminster-Hall*. They
 “ had given him the *Chimney-Money*, which They had
 “ Reason to believe was a growing Revenue, for
 “ Men build at least fast enough; and They would
 “ therefore wonder, that it was already declined, and
 “ that this Half Year brings in less than the former
 “ did.” He desired them therefore, “ that They
 “ would review that Bill; and since He was sure that
 “ They would have him receive whatsoever They
 “ gave, that He might have the collecting and hus-
 “ banding of it by his own Officers, and then He
 “ doubted not but to improve that Receipt, and He
 “ would be cozened as little as He could.”

HIS Majesty concluded with “ desiring and con-
 “ juring them to keep a very good Correspondence
 “ together, that it might not be in the Power of any
 “ seditious or factious Spirits to make them jealous of
 “ each other, or either of them jealous of him, till
 “ They see him pretend one Thing and do another,
 “ which He was sure They had never yet done.” He
 assured them, “ it should be in Nobody’s Power to
 “ make him jealous of them.” And so desired them,
 “ that They would dispatch what They found ne-
 “ cessary, that They might be ready for a Session
 “ within two Months or thereabout, because the Sea-
 “ son of the Year would invite them all to take the
 “ Country Air.”

IT was very happy for his Majesty, that He did
 cut out their Work to their Hand, and asked no Mo-
 ney of them, and limited them a short Time to con-
 tinue together. It made their Counsels very unani-

mous : And though They raised no new Taxes and Impositions upon the People, They made what They had before raised much more valuable to the King than it was before, by passing other Acts and Declarations for the explaining many Things, and the better collecting the Money They had formerly given ; which much added to his Majesty's Profit without grieving the People, who were rather gratified in the Remedies which were provided against Frauds and Cozenage.

The Triennial Bill repealed.

THE Parliament had sate but very little more than ten Days, when They presented a Bill to his Majesty for the Repeal of the *Triennial Bill*, which He had recommended to them ; which was so grateful to him, that He came in Person to the House to pass it and to thank them : And He told them, " that every good *Englishman* would thank them for it ; for it could only have served to discredit Parliaments, to make the Crown jealous of Parliaments and Parliaments of the Crown, and persuaded neighbour Princes that *England* was not governed under a Monarch." The Truth is : It had passed in a very jealous and seditious Time, when the Wickedness was first in hatching, that ripened afterwards to a dismal Perfection ; and when all, who were sworn never to consent to the Disherison of the Crown, thought only of preserving their own Inheritance which They had gotten, or improving it at the Expense of the Crown ; and made it manifest enough, that it should wither, at least while it stood upon the Head of that King ; for at that Time the Conspiracy went no farther, that is amongst those who had then Credit to promote its Passage, though They were weak Men who thought it could rest there.

Some Acts passed.

As They made this Entrance, so They were wholly intent upon Matters of Moment, and dispatched all They intended to do within the two Months, in which the King desired They would be ready for a Prorogation. And as there was greater Order and Unanimity

in their Debates, so They dispatched more Business of publick Importance and Consequence, than any other Parliament hath done in twice the Time: For, besides the Repeal of the odious Bill before mentioned, They made a very good additional Bill for the Chimney-Money, which made that Revenue much more considerable; and They passed likewise another Bill against the frequenting of Conventicles, which was looked upon as the greatest Discountenance the Parliament had yet given to all the Factions in Religion, and if it had been vigorously executed would no Doubt have produced a thorough Reformation. They made likewise a very good Act, and very necessary for a Time of such Corruption, that had contracted new Ways of Dishonesty and Villany that former Times had not thought of, when many unworthy and cowardly Masters of Ships and Seamen had been contented to be robbed, and to suffer all their Owners Goods to be taken, upon an Allowance made to them by the Pirates; for the Discovery and Punishment whereof the Law had not enough provided. They therefore presented a Bill to the King, “for the
“Discovery and Punishment of all such treacherous
“and infamous Actions; and for the Reward of such
“honest and stout Seamen, as should manfully and
“courageously defend their Owners Goods, and there-
“in maintain the Honour of the Nation.”

ALL this They presented to his Majesty, and it was confirmed by his Royal Assent on the 17th of *May*; when his Majesty, after giving such Thanks to them as They deserved, told them, “He did not
“intend to bring them together again till the Month
“of *November*, that They might enjoy the Summer
“in the Transaction of their own Affairs: Yet be-
“cause there might some emergent Occasion fall out,
“that might make him wish to find them together
“sooner, He would prorogue them only to *August*;
“and before the Day They should have seasonable
“Notice, by Proclamation, not to give their Atten-

*The Parlia-
ment pro-
rogued.*

“dance, except such Occasion should fall out.” And so They were prorogued to a Day in *August*, but met not till *November* following.

DURING this short Session of Parliament, They, who were very solicitous to promote a War with *Holland*, forgot not what They had to do; but They quickly discerned that it was not a good Season to mention the giving of Money (which the King himself had forborne to mention, that the People might see one Session of Parliament pass without granting new Impositions, which They had not yet seen), and therefore it would be as unseasonable to speak of a⁽²²⁾ War. However They made such an Approach towards it, as might make a farther Advance much more easy.

*The Mer-
chants remon-
strate against
the Dutch.*

THE Merchants in the Committee of Trade much lamented the Obstructions and Discouragements, which They had long found in their Commerce by Sea with other Nations, and which were not removed even by the blessed Return of the King; all which They imputed to the Pride and Insolence of the *Hollanders*, “who,” They said, “observed no Laws of Commerce, or any Conditions which themselves consented to. That by their Fraud and Practice the *English* were almost driven out of the *East* and *West-Indies*, and had their Trade in *Turkey* and in *Africa* much diminished. In Sum, that besides many insufferable Indignities offered by them to his Majesty and to the Crown of *England*, his Subjects had in few Years sustained the Damage of seven or eight hundred thousand Pounds *Sterling*.”

ALL which with some particular Instances being reported from the Committee of Trade to the House, They had desired an Audience from his Majesty, and then presented this Grievance to him, and desired his Majesty, “that He would give such Order in it, as to his Wisdom should seem fit, that might produce just and honourable Satisfaction.” The King, who continued firm to his former Resolution, answered

swered them, "that He would transmit the Address
 " They had presented to him to his Resident at the
 " *Hague*, with Order that He should inform the *States*
 " of it, and require Satisfaction, which He hoped
 " the *States General* would yield unto, rather than
 " compel him to demand Justice in another Way."
 The Answer pleased them well, nor could They wish
 that the Prosecution should be put into a better Hand
 than the Resident's, who was a Member of the House,
 and a Man who had inflamed them more than the
 Merchants themselves against the *Dutch*.

THAT Resident was Sir *George Downing*, a Man of Character of
Sir George
Downing the
Resident in
Holland.
 an obscure Birth, and more obscure Education, which
 He had received in Part in *New England*: He had
 passed through many Offices in *Cromwell's Army*, of
 Chaplain, Scoutmaster, and other Employments, and
 at last got a very particular Credit and Confidence
 with him, and under that Countenance married a very
 beautiful Lady of a very noble Extraction, which was
 the Fate of many bold Men in that presumptuous
 Time. And when *Cromwell* had subdued the *Dutch*
 to that Temper He wished, and had thereupon made
 a Peace with them, He sent this Man to reside as
 his Agent with them, being a Man of a proud and
 insolent Spirit, and who would add to any imperious
 Command of his somewhat of the Bitterness of his
 own Spirit.

AND He did so fully execute his Charge in all
 Things, especially when He might manifest his Ani-
 mosity against the Royal Party, that when the King
 himself had once, during his Residence at *Brussels*, for
 his Divertisement made a Journey *incognito*, with not
 above four Persons, to see *Amsterdam* and from thence
 the Towns of *North Holland*; *Downing* coming to
 have Notice of it delivered a Memorial to the *States*
 of *Holland*, wherein He enclosed the third Article of
 their Treaty, by which They were obliged "not to
 " suffer any Traitor, Rebel or any other Person, who
 " was declared an Enemy to the *Commonwealth* of
 " Eng.

“ *England*, to reside or stay in their Dominions;” and told them, “ that *Charles Stuart* and the Marquis of “ *Ormond* had been lately in *Amsterdam*, and were still “ in some Places adjacent;” and required “ that They “ might not be permitted to remain in any Part of “ their Dominions.” Whereupon the *States of Hol- land* sent presently to the Princess Royal, who was then at her Country House at *Hounslerdike*, “ that if⁽²²⁾ “ her Brother were then with her or should come to “ her, He should forthwith depart out of their Pro- “ vince :” And not satisfied herewith, They publish- ed an Order in the *Hague* to the same Purpose, which was sent to *Amsterdam* and other Towns according to their Custom.

WITH this rude Punctuality He behaved himself during the Life of *Cromwell*, and whilst his Son retained the Usurpation; but when He saw him thrown out with that Contempt, and that the Government was not like to be settled again till there was a Resort to the old Foundation, He bethought himself how He might have a Reserve of the King’s Favour. And the Marquis of *Ormond* making about that Time a Journey *incognito* to the *Hague*, to treat of a Marriage for his eldest Son with a noble Lady whose Friends lived there, *Downing* found Opportunity to have a private Conference with him, and made Offer of his Service to the King, if his Devotion might be concealed, without which it would be useless to his Majesty. And for an Earnest of his Fidelity, He informed him of some Particulars which were of Moment for the King to know: Amongst which one was, “ that a Person, who in Respect of his very “ honourable Extraction, and the present Obligations “ himself had to the Royal Family, was not suspected, gave him, as He had long done, constant Intel- “ ligence of what the King did, and of many Parti- “ culars which in their Nature deserved to be more “ secret, which He had always sent to *Cromwell* whilst “ He was living; but since his Death, having a Re-
“ solution

“ solution to serve the King, He had never disserved him, and would hereafter give him Notice of any Thing that it would be necessary for him to be informed of with Reference to *England* or to *Holland*.”

THE Marquis thought it very fit to accept of such an Instrument, and promised him “ to acquaint his Majesty with his good Affection, who He presumed would receive it graciously, and give him as much Encouragement to continue it as his present Condition would permit.” To which the other replied, “ that He knew the King’s present Condition too well to expect any Reward from him : But if his Majesty would vouchsafe, when He should be restored, to confirm to him the Office He then held of a Teller in the Exchequer, and continue him in this Employment He then had in *Holland*, where He presumed He should be able to do him more Service than a Stranger could do, He would think himself abundantly rewarded.” Of all which when the Marquis advertised the King at his Return to *Brussels*, He had Authority to assure him “ of the King’s Acceptation, and that all that He expected should be made good.

THIS was the Ground and Reason, that when the King came to the *Hague* the Year following to embark for *England*, He received *Downing* so graciously, and knighted him, and left him there as his Resident; which They who were near the King, and knew Nothing of what had passed, wondered at as much as Strangers who had observed his former Behaviour. And the *States* themselves, who would not at such a Time of publick Joy do any Thing that might be ingrateful to his Majesty, could not forbear to lament in private, “ that his Majesty would depute a Person “ to have his Authority, who had never used any “ other Dialect to persuade them to do any Thing “ He proposed, but Threats if They should not do “ it, and who at several Times had disobliged most “ of

was no other Instance of Hostility than the very Declaration. And at this Time They transplanted this⁽²³⁾ new Prerogative to *Guinea*: And having, as They said, for there was no other Evidence of it, a War with one of those Princes, They would not suffer the *English* Ships to enter into those Harbours where They had always traded. The King received Animadversion of this unheard of Insolence and Usurpation, and added this more just Complaint to the former, and required his Resident “to demand a positive Renunciation of “all Pretence to such an odious Usurpation, and a “Revocation of those Orders which their Officers had “published.” To this Complaint and Demand They deferred to make Answer, till their Ambassadour had presented a Grievance to the King.

*An English
Captain seizes
a Dutch Fort
on the Coast of
Africa.*

ONE of those Ships of War, which the King had lent to the Royal Company for the Convoy of their Fleet to *Guinea*, had in the Voyage thither assaulted and taken a Fort belonging to the *Dutch* near Cape Verde; which was of more Incommodity to them than of Benefit to the *English*. Of this Invasion their Ambassadour made a loud Complaint, and demanded “that the Captain might be punished severely; and “in the mean Time that the King would give a “present Order to him, the Ambassadour, for the “Redelivery of the Place and all that was in it, and “He would send it to his Masters, who would forth- “with send a Ship to demand it.” The King had in Truth heard Nothing of it; and assured the Ambassadour, “that the Captain, if He had done any “such Thing, had not the least Commission or Authority for the doing it; and that He was sure He “was upon his Way homeward, so that He might be “expected speedily; and then He should be sure to “undergo such Punishment as the Nature of his Offence required, when the Matter should be examined, and They should then receive full Reparation.” This Answer how reasonable soever satisfied them not: Nothing would serve their Turn but a
pre-

present Restitution, before his Majesty could be informed of the Provocation or Ground that had produced so unwarrantable an Action. They gave present Orders for the equipping a very great Fleet, and the raising many Land Soldiers, making greater Preparations for War than They had made in many Years before. They likewise prepared a strong Fleet *The Dutch* for *Guinea*, and granted a Commission (which was ^{prepare a} published in Print) to the Commander in Chief, "to ^{strong Fleet} for *Guinea*, "make War upon the *English* in those Parts, and to "do them all the Mischief He could."

PRINCE *Rupert*, who had been heretofore with the Fleet then under his Command, in the Beginning of the King's Reign, upon the Coast of *Guinea* (and by the Report and Testimony He gave of that Coast the Royal Company had received greater Encouragement), now upon this insolent Demeanour of the *Dutch*, and publishing the Commission They had sent to their Commander in Chief, offered his Service to the King, "to sail into those Parts with such a Fleet as his Majesty thought fit to send, with which He made "little Doubt to secure Trade, and abate the Pre-
sumption of the *Dutch*." And hereupon a Fleet *The English* was likewise preparing for that Purpose, to be com- ^{prepare one} ^{likewise} manded by Prince *Rupert*.

THE Parliament had before declared, when They made their Address to the King against the *Dutch* for obstructing the Trade, "that They would with their "Lives and Fortunes assist his Majesty against all "Oppositions whatsoever, which He should meet "with in the Removal of those Obstructions;" which They believed would terrify, but in Truth made the *Dutch* merry: And in some of their Declarations or Answers to *Downing's* Memorials, They mentioned it with too much Pride and Contempt. And in this *The Parlia-* Posture the Disputes were when the Parliament met ^{ment meets} ¹²⁶ again in *November*, which came together for the most Part without a Desire either to give Money or make War. And *Downing*, who laboured heartily to incense

The Continuation of the Life of

us and to provoke them, in all his Dispatches declared, "that all those Insolencies proceeded only "from the Malignity of the *States of Holland*, which "could vent itself no farther than in Words; but "that the *States General*, without whose Concurrence "no War could be made, abhorred the Thought of "it:" And there is no Doubt that was true. And the *Dutch* Ambassadour, who remained at *London*, and was a very honest weak Man, and did all the Offices He could to prevent it, did not think it possible it could come to pass; "but that there might be some "Scuffles upon the Coast of *Guinea*, by the Direction "of the *West-India* Company, of whose Actions the "*States General* took Notice, and would cause Justice "to be done upon Complaint, and not suffer the publick Peace to be disturbed upon their Pretences." And so the King forbore to demand any Supply from the Parliament, because an ordinary Supply would rather discredit his Demands than advance them, and He could not expect an extraordinary Supply but when the War was unquestionable. And the *States General* at this Time were made a Property by the *States of Holland* (who had given private Orders for their own Concernments), and presented an humble Desire to the King by their Ambassadour, "that Prince *Rupert's* Fleet might stay in Harbour, as theirs likewise that was prepared for *Guinea* should do, till "some Means might be found for the Accommodation of all Differences." Whereas before They pretended, that They would send their *Guinea* Fleet through the Channel, convoyed by their Admiral with a Fleet of fifty Sail; which Report had before stopped Prince *Rupert*, when He was under Sail for *Guinea*, to wait and expect that Piece of Bravery. But this Address from the *States General* made all Men believe there would be an Accommodation, without so much as any Hostility in *Guinea*.

The treacherous Behaviour of the Dutch.

BUT it was quickly discovered, that They were the honestest Men when They gave the worst Words.

For

For before the *States General* sent to the King to stop Prince *Rupert* in Harbour, "and that their Fleets "should likewise remain in their Harbours," the *States of Holland*, or that Committee that was qualified by them, had with great Privacy sent Orders to *De Ruyter*, who was in the *Mediterranean*, "to make "all possible Haste with his Fleet to go to the Coast "of *Guinea*, and not only to retake the Fort near "Cape Verde that the *English* had taken from them, "but likewise to take what Places He could which "were in Possession of the *English*, and to do them "what Damage He could in those Parts:" So that They might well offer that their Fleet should now remain in their Harbours in *Holland*.

WHEN *De Ruyter* had been sent into the *Mediterranean*, the Pretence was, that it was against the Pirates of *Algiers* and *Tunis*, who had in Truth preyed very much upon the *Dutch*, taken very many of their Ships, and had Abundance of their Subjects in Chains. And when that Fleet was sent into the *Mediterranean*, their Ambassadour had desired the King, "that his "Majesty's Fleet that was then in those Parts might "upon all Occasions join with *De Ruyter*, when Opportunity should be offered thereby to infest the "*Turks*;" which the King consented to, and sent Orders accordingly. But the *Dutch* had no such Purpose: His Business was to ransom their Captives with Money, and not to exact the Delivery of them by Force; and to make an Accommodation for the Time to come as well as He could. And when the *English* Fleet was at any Time in Pursuit of any of the *Turks* Vessels, and expected that the *Dutch*, by whom they must pass, would have given a little Stop to their Flight, which They might easily have done; They rather assisted than obstructed their Escape. And having made a very dishonourable Peace with the Pirates, He made Haste to prosecute his Orders for the Coast of *Guinea*.

As

*Upon which
their Ships
are seized.*

As soon as the King knew of this impudent Affront, and that *De Ruyter* was in Truth gone out of the *Mediterranean*, He thought He might justly seize upon any Ships of theirs to satisfy the Damages that He could not but sustain by *De Ruyter* in *Guinea*: And so, it being the Season of the Year that the *Dutch* Fleet returned with their Wines from *Bordeaux*, *Rockelle*, and other Parts of *France*, such of them as were forced by the Weather to put into the *English* Harbours were seized upon. And the Duke of *York*, having put himself on Board with a Fleet of about fifty Sail, upon the Report of the *Dutch* being come out to defend their Ships, took many others, even upon their own Coasts; which They chose rather to suffer, than to venture out of their Ports to relieve them. However there was not any one of all those Ships suffered to be unladen, or any Prejudice done to them; but they were all preserved unhurt, till Notice might arrive from *Guinea* what *De Ruyter* had done there. But undoubted Intelligence arrived in a very short Time after, that *De Ruyter* had declared and begun the War upon the Coast of *Africa*, not only by a forceable retaking the Fort which had been taken from them, and which his Majesty had offered to deliver, but by seizing upon several *English* Ships in those Parts, and by assaulking and taking other his Majesty's Forts and Places, and exercising all the Acts of Hostility which his Commission authorised him to do.

*The Dutch
commence Hostilities in
Guinea.*

*They refuse to
deliver the
Island of Poleroone.*

AND in a very short Time after, the *East-India* Company complained and informed the King, "that
"when their Officer had demanded the Redelivery of
"the Isle of *Poleroone* according to the Article of the
"late Treaty, and delivered the Letters and Orders
"from the *States General* and *States of Holland*, which
"their Ambassadors had given at *London*, to the
"Governour and Captain of that Island; He, after
"making him stay two or three Days there with his Ship
"and the Men He had brought with him, told him,

"that

“that upon a better Perusal of the Orders which He had brought, He found that they were not sufficient; and therefore till He should receive fuller Orders, He could not give up the Place.” And so the Officer and Ship, which had been sent at a great Charge, were necessitated to return without any other Effect than the Affront and Indignity to his Majesty.

WHEN there was now no Remedy, and the War was actually made upon the King upon what Provocation soever, there was Nothing to be done but to resort to the Parliament, which had been so earnest to enter into it. A Fleet must be prepared equal to what the *Dutch* would infallibly make ready against the Spring, and worthy of the Presence of the Duke of *York*, who was impatient to engage his own Person in the Conduct of it; and the King had given his Promise to him that He should, when He had, God knows, no Purpose that there should be a War. It was quickly discovered, that there was not the same Alacrity towards a War now, after it was begun, in the Parliament, as there had been when They made their Vote: And They would have been glad that any Expedient might have been found for a Reconciliation, and that the Captain might have been called in Question, who first gave Offence by taking the Fort from the *Dutch* near *Cape Verde*, which some had pressed for when He came Home, before any more Mischief was done; and the not calling him in Question made many believe, that He had done Nothing without Warrant or Promise of Protection.

- (28) THE *Dutch* still disclaimed all Thought or Purpose of War, and seemed highly offended with their Governour of *Poleroone*, and protested, “that the Not-delivery of the Place proceeded only from Want of an Order from the Governour of *Batavia*, which Order came the next Day after the *English* Ship was departed: But that They had given Notice of it to the *English* Factory at *Bantam*, that the same or another *English* Ship might return and receive it;”

"and They were confident that it was then in the "Hand of the *Engliſh*." But it was now too late to expect any honourable Peace, at leaſt without making very notable Preparations for a War, which could not be done without ready Money. And whatever Orders had been given for the Preſervation of the *Dutch* Ships, it quickly appeared that much of them had been embezzled or diſpoſed of, before they were brought to any Judicatory, or adjudged to be Prize; and there was too much Cauſe to fear, that the reſt would be diſpoſed of to other Purpoſes than the Support of the War; though Nothing was more poſitively ſpoken, than that the War would maintain itſelf.

*Meaſures
taken to diſ-
poſe the Par-
liament to
grant Supplies
for a War.*

THE Parliament ſtill promiſed fairly, and entered upon Conſultation how and what Money to raiſe. And now the King commanded the Chancellor and the Treasuſer to meet with thoſe Members of the Houſe of Commons, with whom They had uſed to conſult, and to whom the King had joined others upon whom He was told He might more depend, and to adjust together what Sum ſhould be propoſed, and how and in what Manner to propoſe and conduct it. It was about the Month of *January*. And though the Duke took indefatigable Pains, by going himſelf ſometimes to *Portsmouth* and ſometimes to *Chatham*, to cauſe the Ships and all Proviſions to be ready, that He might be at Sea before the *Dutch*; yet let what Advance could be made, as indeed there was great, Nothing could be ſaid to be done, till a great Stock of ready Money could be provided; and it would be long after the Parliament had done their Part, before ready Money would be got: And therefore no more Time muſt be loſt, without taking a particular Reſolution.

*A Meeting of
ſome Lords
and principal
Commoners for
that Purpoſe.*

THE Meeting of thoſe Perſons the King appointed was at *Worceſter-Houſe*, where the Chancellor and Treasuſer (who were known to be averſe from the War) told the reſt, "that there was no more De-
"bate

"bate now to be, War or no War: It was come
 "upon us, and We were now only to contrive the
 "best Way of carrying it on with Success; which
 "could only be done by raising a great present Sum
 "of Money, that the Enemy might see that We were
 "prepared to continue it as well as to begin." They
 who were most desirous of the War, as Sir *Harry Ben-*
net and Mr. *Coventry* (who were in Truth the Men
 who brought it upon the Nation), with their Friends,
 were of the Opinion, "that there should not be a
 "great Sum demanded at present, but only so much
 "as might carry out the Fleet in the Spring, and
 "that sufficient Provisions might be made for the
 "Summer Service: And then, when the War was
 "once thoroughly entered into, another and a better
 "Supply might be gotten about *Michaelmas*, when
 "there was Reason to hope, that some good Success
 "would dispose all Men to a frank Prosecution of
 "the War." Whereas these Gentlemen had hitherto
 inflamed the King with an Assurance, "that He
 "could not ask more Money of the Parliament than
 "They would readily give him, if He would be en-
 "gaged in this War which the whole Kingdom so
 "much desired."

THE Chancellor and the Treasurer were of Opinion,
 "that the House of Commons could never be in a
 "better Disposition to give, than They were at pre-
 "sent; that hereafter They might grow weary, and
 "apt to find Fault with the Conduct, especially when
 "They found the Country not so well pleased with
 "the War as They were now conceived to be:
 "Whereas, now the War was begun, and the King
 "engaged in it as much as He could be after ten
 "Battles, and all upon their Desire and their Pro-
 "mise; They could not refuse to give any Thing
 "proposed within the Compass of that Reason, which
 "all understanding Men might examine and judge
 "of. That it was evident enough, that the true
 "Ground of all the Confidence the *Dutch* had was

“from their Opinion of the King’s Necessities and
 “Want of Money, and their Belief that the Parlia-
 “ment would supply him very sparingly, and not
 “long to continue such an Expence, as They very
 “well knew that a War at Sea would require : And
 “They would be much confirmed in this their Ima-
 “gination, if at the Beginning They should see the
 “Parliament give him such a Sum of Money, as
 “seemed to be implied by what had been said. That
 “They therefore thought it absolutely necessary, that
 “the King should propose as much, that is, that his
 “Friends should move for such a Sum, as might
 “upon a reasonable Computation, which every Man
 “would be ready to make, and of which wise Men
 “upon Experience would easily make an Estimate,
 “carry on the War for a full Year ; that is, for the
 “setting out the present Fleet and paying it off upon
 “its Return, and for the setting out another Fleet
 “the next Spring. If this were now done, his Ma-
 “jesty would not be involved in importunate Ne-
 “cessities the next Winter ; but He might calmly
 “and deliberately consult upon such farther Supplies,
 “as the Experience of what would be then past
 “should suggest to be necessary : And that this
 “would give his Majesty such a Reputation with all
 “his Neighbours, and such Terrour to his Enemies,
 “that it would probably dispose them to Peace.”

THEY told them, “the best Method to compute
 “what the Expence might amount to in a Year,
 “would be by reflecting upon the vast Disproportion
 “of the Charge We were now already engaged in,
 “and what had been estimated four Months since,
 “when the War was designed. That it was well
 “known to Mr. *Coventry*, who had been always pre-
 “sent at those Conferences, that it had been said by
 “the most experienced Sea Officers, and those who
 “had fought all the late Battles against the *Dutch*,
 “that a Fleet of forty or fifty such Ships, as the King’s
 “were, would be Strength sufficient to beat all the Ships
 “the

"*the Dutch had out of the narrow Seas*; and one very
 "eminent Man amongst them said, *He would not de-*
 "fire above fifty Ships to fight with all They had, and
 "that He was confident that a greater Number than fifty
 "could never be brought to fight orderly or usefully: And
 "yet that there were at present no fewer than four-
 "score good Ships preparing for the Duke. And
 "the Charge in many other Particulars appeared al-
 "ready to amount to double the Sum that was first
 "computed."

THEY concluded, "that a less Sum than two Mil-
 "lions and a Half" (which is five and twenty hun-
 "dred thousand Pounds *Sterling*) "ought not to be
 "proposed, and being once proposed ought to be in-
 "sisted on and pursued without consenting to any
 "Diminution; for Nobody could conceive that it
 "would do more than maintain the War one Year,
 "which the Parliament could not refuse to provide
 "for in the Beginning, as there was so much in
 "Truth of it already expended in the Preparations
 "and Expedition the Duke had made in *November*,
 "when He went to Sea upon the Fame of the *Dutch*
 "Fleet's Intention to convoy the *Guinea* Ships through
 "the Channel."

THERE was not a Man in the Company, who did
 not heartily wish that that Sum or a greater might be
 proposed and granted: But They all, though They
 130) agreed in few other Things, protested, "that They
 "could not advise that so prodigious a Sum should
 "be as much as named; and that They did not
 "know any one Man, since it could not be thought
 "fit that any Man who had Relation to the King's
 "Service should move it, who had the Courage to
 "attempt it or would be persuaded to it."

THE two Lords continued very obstinate, "that
 "a less Sum should not be named for the Reasons
 "They had given," which the other confessed to be
 "just; and They acknowledged too, "that the Pro-
 "position ought not to be made by any Man who

“was related to the Court, or was thought to be in
 “any Grace there that might dispose him, nor yet by
 “any Gentleman, how well soever thought of, who
 “was of a small Estate, and so to pay little of so
 “great a Sum He was so liberal to give.” They
 therefore desired them “to name some of those Mem-
 “bers, who were honest worthy Men, and looked
 “upon as Lovers of their Country, and of great For-
 “tunes, unsuspected to have any Designs at Court;
 “and if They were not enough acquainted with them,
 “the Lords would find some Way by themselves or
 “others to move them to it.” Whereupon They
 named five or six Persons very well known, of whom
 the House had a very good Esteem, but without any
 Hope that any of them would be prevailed with to
 undertake it. The Lords said, “They would try
 “what might be done, and give them Notice the
 “next Day, that if it were possible it might be the
 “Business of the following Day.”

THE Chancellor and the Treasurer chose three *Nor-*
folk Gentlemen of those who had been named, because
 They were good Friends and grateful to each other,
 and desired them the next Day “that They might
 “confer together.” They told them, “They knew
 “well the State of Affairs; the Parliament had en-
 “gaged the King in a War, that could not be car-
 “ried on without a vast Expence: And therefore if
 “at the Entrance into it there should be a small or
 “an ordinary Supply given, it would blast all their
 “Hopes, and startle all other Princes from joining,
 “with whom the *Dutch* were not in Favour, and who
 “would be inclined to the King, if They saw such
 “a Provision for the War as would be sufficient to
 “continue it for some Time. And therefore They
 “desired to confer with them, who upon all Occa-
 “sions manifested good Affections to the King, and
 “whose Advice had a great Influence upon the House,
 “upon the whole Matter how it might be conduct-
 “ed.” They all consented to what had been said,
 and

and promised their own Concurrence and utmost Endeavours to compass what the King should desire. The Lords said, "They promised themselves more from them, and that They would not only concur, but propose what should be necessary to be granted." And thereupon They enlarged upon the Charge which was already in View, and upon what was to be expected, and concluded "that two Millions and a Half were necessary to be insisted on;" and desired, "that when the Debate should be entered upon, which They hoped might be the next Day, one of them would propose this Sum and the other would second it."

They looked long one upon another, as if They were surprised with the Sum. At last one of them said, "that the Reasons were unanswerable for a liberal Supply; yet He did not expect that so prodigious a Sum, which He believed had never yet been mentioned in Parliament to be granted at one Time, would be proposed: However He did not think it too much, and that He would do the best He could to answer any Objections which should be made against it, as He doubted many would; but He confessed He durst not propose it." Another was of the same Mind, and with many good Professions desired to be excused as to the first proposing it. The third, who was Sir *Robert Paston*, a Person of a much greater Estate than Both the other who had yet very good Fortunes, and a Gentleman of a very antient Extraction by his Father (and his Mother was Daughter to the Earl of *Lindsey*), declared very frankly, "that He was satisfied in his Conscience, that it would be very good for the Kingdom as well as for the King that such a Sum should be granted: And therefore if They thought him fit to do it, He would propose it the next Morning, let other Men think what They would of him for it."

THE

THE Lords gave him the Thanks They ought to do, and said what was necessary to confirm him, and to thank the other Gentlemen for their Promise to second him, and gave Notice to the rest of the Resolution, that They might call for the Debate the next Day; which was entered into with a general Cheerfulness, every Man acknowledging the Necessity and the Engagement of the House, but no Man adventuring to name the Proportion that should be given. When the House was in a deep Silence expecting that Motion, Sir Robert Paston, who was no frequent Speaker, but delivered what He had a Mind to say very clearly, stood up, mentioned shortly the Obligation, the Charge of the War, and “that the present Supply ought to be such as might as well terrify the Enemy as assist the King; and therefore He proposed that They might give his Majesty two Millions and a Half, which would amount to five and twenty hundred thousand Pounds.” The Silence of the House was not broken; They sat as in Amazement, until a Gentleman, who was believed to wish well to the King, without taking Notice of what had been proposed, stood up, and moved that They might give the King a much less Proportion. But then the two others, who had promised to second, renewed the Motion one after the other; which seemed to be entertained with a Consent of many, and was contradicted by none: So that, after a short Pause, no Man who had Relation to the Court speaking a Word, the Speaker put it to the Question, “whether They would give the King five and twenty hundred thousand Pounds for the carrying on the War against the *Dutch*,” and the Affirmative made a good Sound, and very few gave their Negative aloud, and it was notorious very many sat silent. So the Vote was presently drawn up into an Order; and the House resolved the next Day to be in a Committee, to agree upon the Way that should be taken for the raising

Sir Robert
Paston moves
for a Supply of
2,500,000*l*.

Which is agreed to by
the House.

raising this vast Sum, the Proportion whereof could no more be brought into Debate.

THIS brave Vote gave the King the first Liking of the War : It was above what He had expected or indeed wished to be proposed. And They, who had been at the first Conference, and delivered the Resolution of the two Lords as impossible to be compassed, not without Insinuation as if it were affected only to indispose the House to the War (yet They did not think fit to vary from the Proportion, till They saw the Success of the Proposition, which the Lords were engaged to procure a fit Person to make); when They found the Conclusion to be such as could be wished, They commended the Counsel, and fell into another Extreme, that in the Thing itself and in the Consequence did very much Harm ; which shall be next mentioned, after I have said that there appeared great Joy and Exaltation of Spirit upon this Vote, and not more in the Court than upon the Exchange, the Merchants generally being unskilfully inclined to that War, above what their true Interest could invite them to, as in a short Time afterwards They had Cause to confess.

THE King sent to the Lord Mayor to call a Common Council, and commanded the Chancellor, Treasurer, and other Lords of his Council, to go thither; who, upon the Credit of this Vote of the House of Commons for this noble Supply, prevailed with the City presently to furnish the King with the Loan of two hundred thousand Pounds ; which being within few Days paid into the Hands of the Treasurer of the Navy, all Preparations for the Fleet, and of whatever else was necessary for the Expedition, were provided with marvellous Alacrity : And the Parliament made what Haste was possible to dispatch the Bill, by which their great Present might be collected from the People.

IT hath been said before, that in most vacant Places, upon the Death of any Members, Ways were found

found out to procure some of the King's domestick Servants to be elected in their Places; so that his Majesty had many Voices there at his Devotion; which did not advance his Service. These Men confidently ran out of the House still to inform the King of what was doing, commended this Man, and discommended another who deserved better; and would many Times, when his Majesty spake well of any Man, ask his Majesty "if He would give them "Leave to let that Person know how gracious his "Majesty was to him, or to bring him to kiss his "Hand." To which He commonly consenting, every one of his Servants delivered some Message from him to a Parliament-Man, and invited him to Court as if the King would be willing to see him. And by this Means the Rooms at Court, where the King was, were always full of the Members of the House of Commons; this Man brought to kiss his Hand, and the King induced to confer with that Man, and to thank him for his Affection, which never could conclude without some general Expression of Grace or Promise, which the poor Gentleman always interpreted to his own Advantage, and expected some Fruit from it that it could never yield: All which, being contrary to all former Order, did the King no Good, and rendered those unable to do him Service who were inclined to it.

Sir H. Bennet and Sir C. Berkley carefs and excuse Sir Rob. Paston,

THE new Secretary, and Sir *Charles Berkley*, who by this Time was entered very far into the King's Favour and his Confidence, were the chief, and by their Places had Access to him in all Places and Hours: And They much disliked the Officiousness of the others, as if They presumed to invade their Province. They thought it but their Due, that the King should take his Measures of the House of Commons by no other Report but theirs, nor dispense his Graces there through any other Conduit. They took this Occasion to carefs Sir *Robert Paston*, who was a Stranger to them, and to magnify the Service He
had

had done the King, and the great Sense the King had of it, and that He did long to give him his own Thanks: They invited him to come to the Court, and Sir *Charles Berkley* told him as from the King, "that his Majesty resolved to make him a Baron." And by these daily Courtships and Importunities the Gentleman, who was well satisfied with what He had done, and never proposed any Advantage to himself from it, was amused, and thought He was not to refuse any Honour the King thought him worthy of, nor to neglect those Graces which were offered to him by Persons of their Interest. Yet He made not Haste to go to the Court, believing that it might make him less capable of serving the King, and that any Favour his Majesty should do him would be more seasonable hereafter than at present, lest He might be thought to have made that Motion in the House upon Promise of the other Reward. Yet after continued Invitations He went thither, and those Gentlemen presented him to the King, who spake very graciously 33) to him, told him, "He had done him great Service, "which He would never forget," and many other princely Expressions, and "that He should be glad "so see him often," but no Particular to that Purpose which had been mentioned to him.

WHEN He went next, He found his Majesty's Countenance the same: But They, who had courted and amused him so much, grew every Day more dry and reserved towards him; of which He complained to a Friend of his who He knew had Interest in the Chancellor, and desired him to acquaint him with all that had passed, who had not till then heard that He had been at Court, and when He was informed of the whole Relation was very much troubled, well knowing, that how acceptable soever those Kinds of Courtships were for few Days, they were attended with many Inconveniences when the End was not correspondent with the Beginning. He knew well the Resolution the King had taken to create no more Noble.

Noblemen, the Number whereof already too much exceeded : However He was very sorry, that a Person of that Quality and Merit should be exposed to any Indignity, for having endeavoured in such a Conjunction to do his Majesty a signal Service, and succeeded so well ; and spake with the King at large of it, and gave his Majesty a full Account of the Modesty and Temper of the Gentleman, of his Quality and Interest, and what had been said and promised to him. The King was troubled, owned all that He had said himself to him, as being very hearty, and “ that He would never forget the Service He had “ done, but requite it upon any Opportunity ;” but protested, “ that He had never made any such Promise, nor given Sir *Charles Berkley* any Authority to “ mention any such Thing to him, which would prove “ very inconvenient ;” and therefore wished, “ that “ his Friend would divert him from prosecuting such “ a Pretence, which He knew to be contrary to his “ Resolution.”

THE Chancellor knew not what to say, but truly advertised his Friend of all the King had said, who again informed Sir *Robert Paston*, who thought himself very hardly treated, and went to Sir *Charles Berkley*, who had not the same open Arms, yet assured him “ that He had said Nothing to him but by the “ King’s Direction, which He must aver. That He “ did not use to interpose or move the King in any of “ his Affairs : But if He would desire the Chancellor “ to take Notice of it, who He knew had a great “ Affection for him, and upon whose Desire He had “ performed that great Service, He was confident it “ would be attended with the Success He wished, to “ which He would contribute all his Endeavours ;” intimating, “ that if He had not what He desired, “ He might impute it to the Chancellor.” Upon which Sir *Robert*, who was well assured of the Chancellor’s Kindness, concluded that his Court-Friends had deluded him, or expected Money, which He
would

would not give: And so the Matter ended with Prejudice to the King.

NOTWITHSTANDING these and the like very inconvenient Activities, which lost more Friends than were gotten by them, the Noise of this stupendous Supply, given to the King at one Time, made good Impressions upon all who had any Affections for the King, and was wondered at in those Places where Money was most plenty. In *Holland* it wrought even to Consternation, and the common People cried aloud for Peace, and the *States* pretended to have great Hope as well as Desire of it, and sent their Ambassadour, who remained still in *England*, new Orders to solicit it.

IN the mean Time the King neglected not to apply what Endeavours He could use, to dispose his Allies to act such Parts as their own Interest might reasonably invite them to. From *France* He expected only
The Condition of England in Respect to its Neighbours.
 (34) Neutrality, by Reason He knew He had renewed the Alliance with the *States*; but never suspected, that it was in such a Manner as would hinder the Neutrality. *Spain* could do little Good or Harm, nor durst it to engage against *Holland*: Yet all was done that was necessary towards a good Correspondence with it. The two Northern Kings would find themselves concerned, at least to wish better to one Side than to the other; and had been Both so disobliged by the *Dutch*, that had it not been for the irreconcilable Jealousy They had of each other, They might have been united to the Interest of *England*. But *Denmark* had in the late War given what They could not keep nor recover, and yet could hardly be without; and *Sweden* looked with too much Contempt upon the Weakness and Unactivity of their Neighbour, to give back any Thing They had got: And this restrained them Both from provoking an Enemy that might give Strength to the other.

YET *Denmark* had the Year before by *Hannibal Zestel*, who went Ambassadour into *France* and made

Engl.

England his Way, made many Complaints to the King "of the Oppression the Crown of *Denmark* underwent by the *Dutch*, and the Resolution it had "to shake off that Yoke as soon as an Opportunity "should be offered;" and made a Request to the King, "that He would endeavour to make the Alliance so fast between *Denmark* and *Sweden*, that "the Jealousy of each other might hinder neither of "them from doing any Thing that was for their own "Interest, without Prejudice to the other." And when the Difficulty was alleged, in Regard that *Sweden* would never be persuaded to part with *Elfenor*, and those other Places which had been given up in the late Treaty; *Hannibal Zest* consented that what was done in that Treaty should be again confirmed, and said "his Master was willing and desirous that "the King of *England* should undertake and be "Caution for the Observation of this Treaty;" implying, "that if this were done, and thereby the "Fear of any further Attempt from *Sweden* were extinguished, *Denmark* would not be long without regarding itself from the Vexation which it endured "from *Holland*, which, upon former Necessities and "ill Bargains, upon the Matter had an Exemption "from paying all Duties upon their own great Trade "through the *Sound*, as much to the Prejudice of all "other Princes as of the poor Crown of *Denmark*." This having so lately passed from a Minister of that Crown, the King thought it a good Time to endeavour to do that Office between the two Crowns, and thereby to unite them Both to the King in this Conjunction against the *Dutch*; at least that They might Both remain good Friends to his Majesty, and supply him with all those Provisions without which his Navy could not be supported, and as far as was possible restrain the *Dutch* from those Supplies, by making such large Contracts with the *English*, that there would not be enough left for the other.

UPON

UPON this Ground He sent Mr. *Henry Coventry* of *Ambassadors* his Bedchamber to the *Swede*, whose Friendship He *sent to Denmark and Sweden*, much more valued as more able to assist him, and upon whose Word He could more firmly depend. And to *Denmark* He sent Sir *Gilbert Talbot*, who was acceptable to that Crown by his having performed many Offices of Respect to the Prince of *Denmark*, when He had been *incognito* in *England*; and waited upon him to several Parts of the Kingdom whom He had a Mind to see, and so caused him to be entertained in several Gentlemen's Houses in his Journey, of which the Prince seemed very sensible when He departed. That which was expected from that Negotiation, except the Confidence could be created between the two Crowns, was only to preserve *Denmark* a Friend; that He might not favour the *Dutch*, and might recall all his Subjects out of their Service; and that We might have the same Freedom of Trade, and the Security of his Ports for our Men of War.

WHILST the King took this Care for the Advance-*Proposals made by the Bishop of Munster for an Alliance against the Dutch.* ment of his Affairs abroad, there was an Advantage offered him that looked as if it came from Heaven. There came one Day a Gentleman, who looked rather like a Carter, who spoke ill *English*, and desired that He might have a private Audience with the Chancellor; who presently sent for him, and in a short Time knew him to be a *Benedictine* Monk, who had been sometimes with him at *Cologne*, and belonged to the *English* Abbey at *Lamspring* in *Westphalia*, where a very reverend Person of the Family of *Gascoigne* in *Yorkshire* was Abbot, with whom the Chancellor had much Acquaintance; and esteemed him very much; and He had, during the Time the King stayed in *Cologne*, sent this Monk several Times thither, who was likewise a Gentleman, but by living long in *Germany* had almost forgot the Language as well as the Manners of his own Country. His Business now was to deliver him a Letter (whereof He knew little of the Contents) from the Bishop of *Munster*, upon the
Edge

The Continuation of the Life of

Edge of whose Dominions that *English* Abbey was seated, which had likewise a Territory that extended to the Principality of the other, and received much Favour and Protection from the other; who desired the Abbot to give him an honest Man, that would carry a Letter from him to the Court of *England*: Upon which this Monk was deputed, the rather because He was known to the Chancellor. The Matter of the Letter was no more, than “that if the War “against *Holland* was to be resolutely prosecuted by “the King of *England*, He (the Bishop) conceived “that a Conjunction with those Allies, who could “infest the *Dutch* by Land as his Majesty would do “by Sea, might not be unacceptable to his Majesty; “and in that Case, upon the Answer to this Letter, “He would send a fit Person to make some Propositions to the King and to treat with him.” The Instructions the Monk had, were “to make all possible Haste back, and that as soon as He returned on “that Side the Sea, He should send the Answer He “had received, by the Post, so directed as was appointed; and then that himself should stay at *Brussels* till He received farther Orders.”

THE Chancellor quickly informed the King of this Dispatch, to whom the Monk was likewise known; and his Majesty immediately assembled those Lords with whom He consulted in the most secret Cases. Every Body knew so much of the Bishop of *Munster*, that He was a warlike Prince, having had Command in Armies before He dedicated himself to the Church, and that He had a great Animosity against *Holland*, which had disoblged him in the highest Point, by encouraging his Subjects to rebel against him, and those of his City of *Munster* to shut their Gates against him: And when He endeavoured to reduce them by Force, and to that Purpose had besieged them with his Army, the *Dutch* sent an Army to relieve it, and declared that They would protect that City. And by this Means, and by the Mediation of the neighbour Princes,

Princes, who had no Mind that the Peace of their Country should be disturbed by such an Incurſion, the Biſhop was hindered from taking that Vengeance upon his rebel Subjects which He intended, and compelled to accept of ſuch Conditions as did not pleaſe him. And all this was but two Years before, and boiled ſtill in his Breſt, that was naturally very hot. But He was a poor Prince, unable to give any Diſturbance to the *United Provinces*, whoſe Dominions extended within a Day's March of his. However every Man was of Opinion, that the Propoſition ought to be very kindly received, and the Biſhop invited to ſend his Agent. And to that Purpoſe the Chancellor
 36) wrote to him, and the Monk was diſpatched the next Day. And having obſerved his Orders in ſending away the Answer, He was very few Days at *Brussels*, when a Servant of the Biſhop arrived with Orders that the Monk ſhould accompany him back into *England*. And ſo They Both arrived in *London* in leſs Time than could be expected.

THE Gentleman who came from the Biſhop was a very proper Man, well-bred, a Baron of that Country, but a Subject to the Biſhop: He brought with him a Letter of Credit from the Biſhop to the King, and full Authority to treat and conclude according to his Inſtructions, which He likewiſe preſented to his Majeſty. He brought likewiſe a Letter to the Chancellor from the Elector of *Mentz*, in which He recommended to him the Perſon whom the Biſhop of *Munſter* ſhould ſend, and declared “that He believed “the Biſhop of *Munſter* would be able to perform “whatſoever He ſhould undertake:” Which Letter was a very great Encouragement to the King; for his Majeſty knew the Elector of *Mentz* very well to be a very wiſe Prince and notoriously his Friend, and that He would not ſay ſo much of the Ability of the Biſhop to perform, except He knew particularly his Deſign, and what He would undertake to do.

THE Baron's Instructions were to propose, "that his Majesty would cause one hundred thousand Pounds to be immediately paid, by Bills of Exchange at *Hamburg* or *Cologne* or *Francfort*, to such Persons as the Bishop should appoint to receive it; and should promise to pay fifty thousand Pounds by the Month in the same Places for three Months to come: Afterwards He hoped the Army would provide for its own Support. This being undertaken on his Majesty's Part, the Bishop would be engaged, within one Month after the first Bills of Exchange for the one hundred thousand Pounds should be delivered into the Hands of his Agent the Baron, that He would be in the Dominions of the *States General* with an Army of sixteen thousand Foot and four thousand Horse; with which He was very confident He should within few Days be possessed of *Arnhem*, and shortly after of *Utrecht*: And if the King's Fleet came before *Amsterdam*, that Army of the Bishop should march to what Place or Quarter his Majesty should direct."

THE Baron was asked, "how it could be possible for the Bishop, though a gallant Prince and very active, to draw together such an Army in so short a Time out of his small Province; and how He was sure that his Neighbours, who two Years before had compelled him to make so disadvantageous a Peace with the *Dutch*, would not again use the same violent Importunity to obstruct his Proceedings." To which He answered, "that the Bishop would never undertake to bring such an Army together in so short a Time, in which They could not be levied, but that He knows They are already levied, and upon an Assurance of Money can be brought together in the short Time proposed: For the other, the Interposition of his Neighbours, He had not then, when They prevailed, Half that Army which He was sure He should now have; besides those Neighbours were now as much incensed
"against

"against the *Dutch* as his Master was, and would all
 "engage with him against them; and that many of
 "the Army that is designed were at present quartered
 "in their Dominions; and that the Bishop intended
 "not to march in his own private Capacity, but as
 "General of the Empire, for which the Elector of
 "*Mentz* had undertaken to procure him a Com-
 "mission." He was demanded "how his Master
 "stood with *France*, and whether He did not fear that
 "it would either prevent the Enterprize by Media-
 "tion, or disappoint it by sending Aid to *Holland*."
 37) He answered, "his Master was confident *France*
 "would not do him any Harm: That He had sent an
 "Agent, from whom He should be sure to receive
 "Letters by every Post." And within few Days
 after, He shewed a Letter that He had received
 from that Agent, in which He said, "that *Monsieur*
de Lionne bade him assure the Bishop, that his
 "*Christian* Majesty would do Nothing to his Pre-
 "judice."

THIS being the State of that Affair, the King con-
 sidered what He was to do. The Propositions made
 by the Bishop were such, as it was not possible for
 him to comply with. But then it was presumed by
 every Body, that very much would be abated of the
 Money that was demanded: For it was not an auxi-
 liary Army that was to be raised for the King's Ser-
 vice, whose Conquests were to be applied to his Be-
 nefit, but an Army raised to revenge the Injuries
 which himself had received, and what He should get
 must be to his own Account; and his Majesty's Hos-
 tility at Sea would as much facilitate his Enterprize at
 Land, as the marching of his Army might probably
 disturb and distract their Preparations for the Sea.
 Yet it could not be expected, that the Bishop could
 draw his Army together (and the Attempt was not
 to be made with less Force) without a good Supply of
 Money, nor keep it together without Pay.

THE Advantage, that would with God's Blessing attend this Conjunction, spread itself to a very large Prospect. That the People generally in the *Provinces* were very unsatisfied with this War, was a Thing notorious; and that the Province of *Holland* which began it, and was entirely governed by *De Wit*, did even compel the other Provinces to concur with them, partly upon Hope that a farther Progress would be prevented by Treaty, or that a Peace would follow upon the first Engagement. But when They should see an Army of twenty thousand Men, which They suspected not, to invade their Country at Land, and in that Part where They were most secure, and from whence so much of their necessary Provisions were daily brought; They must be in great Consternation, and draw all their Land Army together, which They had not done in near twenty Years, and could not be done to any Effect without vast Charge, which would put the People into a loud Distraction. Finally, there was great Reason to cherish the Design: And therefore the King resolved by an unanimous Advice to undertake any Thing towards it, that could be in his Power to perform.

THERE was one Difficulty occurred, that had not been thought of nor so much as apprehended by the Baron, which was the Return of the Money, whatsoever should be assigned to that Service; for of the three Places proposed by him, besides the Secrecy that was requisite, all the Trade of *London* could not assign one thousand Pounds in the Month to be paid upon *Cologne* and *Frankfort*; nor could *Hamburg* itself be charged with twenty thousand Pounds in three Months Time: Which when the Agent knew, He seemed amazed, and said "They had believed that it had been as easy to have transmitted Money to those three Towns, as it was for them to receive it from thence."

IN Conclusion, the King gave his Answer in Writing, what Sum of Money He would cause to be paid

paid at once for the first Advance, that the Bishop might begin his March, and what He would afterwards cause to be paid by the Month; which being less than the Baron's Instructions would admit him to accept, He sent an Express with it to the Bishop: And "till his Return," He desired, "that the King" would appoint some Person of Experience to confer with him; and They might together inform "themselves of the best Expedients to return Money
 18) "into *Germany*, since his Majesty had hitherto only "undertaken to pay his Assignations in *London*." What Success this Treaty afterwards had will be related in its Place.

THESE Advantages from abroad being in this Manner deliberated and designed, it may be very seasonable to look back, and consider what Preparations were made at Home towards the carrying on this War, for which the Parliament had provided so bountifully: And if ordinary Prudence had been applied to the Managery, if any Order and Method had been consulted and steadily pursued for the conducting the Whole, the Success would have been answerable, and at least any Inconvenience from the sudden Want of Money would have been prevented. But whoever was at any near Distance in that Time when those Transactions were in Agitation, as there are yet many worthy Men who were, or shall be able to procure a sincere Information of the Occurrences of that Time, will be obliged to confess, that They who contrived the War had the entire conducting it, and were the sole Causes of all the ill Effects of it; which cannot be set down particularly without wounding those, who were by their Confidence in ill Instruments made accessory to those Mischiefs, in which themselves suffered most. Nor is it the End of this true Relation to fix a Brand upon the Memory of those, who deserve it from the Publick and from very many worthy Men, but is to serve only for a Memorial to cast my own Eyes upon, when I cannot but reflect upon those

Proceedings; and by my Consent shall never come into any Hands but theirs, who for their own Sakes will take Care to preserve it from any publick View or Perusal.

*The State of
the Navy
from the
King's Reso-
lution.*

IT cannot be denied and may very truly be averred, that from the Hour of the King's Return and being possessed of the entire Government, the Naval Affairs were never put into any Order. That Province, being committed to the Duke as Lord High Admiral of *England*, was entirely engrossed by his Servants, in Truth by Mr. *Coventry*, who was newly made his Secretary, and who made Use of his other Servants, who were better known to him, to infuse into his Highness the Opinion, "that whoever presumed to meddle in any Thing that related to the Navy or the Admiralty, invaded his Jurisdiction, and would lessen him in the Eyes of the People; and that He ought to be jealous of such Men, as of those who would undermine his Greatness; and that as He was superiour to all Men by being the King's Brother, so being High Admiral He was to render Account to none but to the King, nor suffer any Body else to interpose in any Thing relating to it." Whereas in Truth there is no Officer of the Crown more subject to the Council-Board than the Admiral of *England*, who is to give an Account of all his Actions and of every Branch of his Office constantly to the Board, and to receive their Orders: Nor hath He the Nomination of the Captains of the Ships, till upon the Presentation of their Names He receives their Approbation, which is never denied. Nor was there any Counsellor who had ever sat at the Board in the last King's Time, to whom this was not as much known as any Order of the Table.

BUT there was no retrieving this Authority, not only from the Influence Mr. *Coventry*, and They of the Family who adhered to him, had upon the Duke, but from the King's own Inclination, who thought that those Officers, who immediately depended upon
himself

himself and only upon himself, were more at his Devotion than They who were obliged to give an Account to any other Superiour. And from the Time that He came first into *France*, He had not been accustomed to any Discourse more than to the undervaluing the Privy Council, as if it shadowed the King
 19) too much, and usurped too much of his Authority, and too often superseded his own Commands. And the Queen his Mother had, upon these Discourses, always some Instances of the Authority which in such a Case the Council had assumed against the King's Judgment; the Exception to which, according to the Relation which Nobody could question, seemed to be very reasonable. This Kind of Discourse, being the Subject of every Day, made so great Impression that it could never be defaced, and made the Election and Nomination of Counsellors less considered, since They were to be no more advised with afterwards than before.

ANOTHER Argument, that used to be as frequently insisted upon by the Queen, and with more Passion and Indignation, was of the little Respect and Reverence, that by the Law or Custom of *England* was paid to the younger Sons of the Crown; and though there was Nobody present in those Conversations who knew any Thing of the Law or Custom in those Cases, yet all that was said was taken as granted. And not only the Duke but the King himself had a marvellous Prejudice to the Nation in that Part of good Manners: And it was easily agreed, that the Model of *France* was in those and other Cases much more preferable, and which was afterwards observed in too many.

THIS being then the State and Temper of the Royal Family when the King returned, which then consisted of the Duke of *Glocester*, and two Princesses more than it now hath; the very next Morning after the Fleet came to *Scheveling*, the Duke went on Board and took Possession of it as Lord High Admiral: And so his
 Secre-

Secretary provided new Commissions for all the Officers who were in present Command, for which it is probable They all paid very liberally; for with him the Custom began to receive five Pounds for every Warrant signed by the Duke, and for which no Secretary to any Lord Admiral formerly had ever received above twenty Shillings. Mr. *Coventry*, who was utterly unacquainted with all the Rules and Customs of the Sea, and knew none of the Officers, but was much courted by all, as the Secretary to the Admiral always is, made Choice of Captain *Pen*, whom the King knighted as soon as He came on Board; who from a common Man had grown up under *Cromwell* to the highest Command, and was in great Favour with him till He failed in the Action of *St. Domingo*, when He went Admiral at Sea, as *Venables* was General at Land, for which They were Both imprisoned in the *Tower* by *Cromwell*, nor ever employed by him afterwards: But upon his Death He had Command again at Sea, as He had at this Time under *Mountague* when He came to attend the King. With this Man Mr. *Coventry* made a fast Friendship, and was guided by him in all Things.

ALL the Offices which belonged to the Ships, to the Navy, to the Yards, to the whole Admiralty (except the three superiour Officers, which are not in the Disposal of the Admiral), were now void, and to be supplied by the Duke, that is, by Mr. *Coventry*; who by the Advice of Sir *William Pen*, who was solely trusted by him in the Brocade, conferred them upon those (without observing any other Rule) who would give most Money, not considering any honest Seaman who had continued in the King's Service, or suffered long Imprisonment for him. And because an incredible Sum of Money did and would rise this Way, some principal Officers in the Yards, as the Master Smith and others, and the Keepers of the Stores, yielding seven, eight hundred or a thousand Pounds; He had the Skill to move the Duke to bestow such
Money

Money as would arise upon such Place upon Sir *Charles Berkley*, for another to another, and for some to be divided between two or three: By which Means
 40) the whole Family was obliged, and retained to justify him; and the Duke himself looked upon it as a Generosity in Mr. *Coventry*, to accommodate his Fellow Servants with what He might have asked or kept for himself. But it was the best Husbandry He could have used: For by this Means all Men's Mouths were stopped, and all Clamour secured; whilst the lesser Sums for a Multitude of Offices of all Kinds were reserved to himself, and which, in the Estimation of those who were at no great Distance, amounted to a very great Sum, and more than any Officer under the King could possibly get by all the Perquisites of his Place in many Years. By this Means, the whole Navy and Ships were filled with the same Men who had enjoyed the same Places and Offices under *Cromwell*, and thereby were the better able to pay well for them; whereof many of the most infamous Persons which that Time took Notice of were now become the King's Officers, to the great Scandal of their honest Neighbours, who observed that They retained the same Manners and Affections, and used the same Discourses They had formerly done.

BESIDES many other irreparable Inconveniences and Mischiefs which resulted from this Corruption and Choice, one grew quickly visible and notorious, in the stealing and embezzling all Manner of Things out of the Ships, even when they were in Service: But when they returned from any Voyages, incredible Proportions of Powder, Match, Cordage, Sails, Anchors, and all other Things, instead of being restored to the several proper Offices which were to receive them, were embezzled and sold, and very often sold to the King himself for the setting out other Ships and for replenishing his Stores. And when this was discovered (as many Times it was) and the criminal Person apprehended, it was alleged by him as a Defence

fence or Excuse, "that He had paid so dear for his Place, that He could not maintain himself and Family without practising such Shifts:" And none of those Fellows were ever brought to exemplary Justice, and most of them were restored to their Employments.

THE three superiour Officers of the Navy were possessed of their Offices by Patents under the Great Seal of *England* before the King's Return; and They are the natural established Council of the Lord High Admiral, and are to attend him when He requires it, and always used of Course to be with him one certain Day in a Week, to render him an Account of all the State of the Office, and to receive his Orders and to give their Advice. And now because these three depended not enough upon him, but especially out of Animosity against Sir *George Carteret*, who besides being Treasurer of the Navy was Vice-Chamberlain of the King's Household, and so a Privy Counsellor; Mr. *Coventry* proposed to the Duke, "that in Regard of the Multiplicity of Business in the Navy, much more than in former Times, and the setting out greater Fleets than had been accustomed in that Age when those Officers and that Model for the Government of the Navy had been established, his Royal Highness would propose to the King to make an Addition, by Commissioners, of some other Persons always to sit with the other Officers with equal Authority, and to sign all Bills with them;" which was a Thing never heard of before, and is in Truth a lessening of the Power of the Admiral. It is very true, there have frequently been Commissioners for the Navy; but it hath been in the same Place of the Admiral and to perform his Office: But in the Time of an Admiral Commissioners have not been heard of. One principal End in this was, to draw from the Treasurer of the Navy (whose Office Mr. *Coventry* thought too great, and had implacable Animosity against him from the first Hour after He had made his

his Friendship with *Pen*) out of his Fees (which, though no greater than were granted by his Patent and had been always enjoyed by his Predecessors, were indeed greater than had used to be in Times of Peace, when much less Money passed through his Hands) what should be enough to pay those Commissioners; for it was not reasonable They should serve for Nothing, nor that They should be upon the King's Charge, since the Treasurer's Perquisites might be enough for all.

THE Duke liked the Proposition well, and without conferring with any Body else upon it proposed it to the King at the Council-Board, where Nobody thought fit to examine or debate what the Duke proposed; and the King approved it, and ordered "that the Commissioners should receive each five hundred Pounds by the Year:" But finding afterwards that the Treasurer of the Navy's Fees were granted to him under the Great Seal, his Majesty did not think it just to take it from him, but would bear it himself, and appointed the Treasurer to pay and pass those Pensions in his Account. The Commissioners named and commended by the Duke to the King were the Lord *Berkley*, Sir *John Lawson*, Sir *William Pen*, and Sir *George Ayscue*, the three last the most eminent Sea-Officers under *Cromwell*, but it must not be denied but that They served the King afterwards very faithfully. These the King made his Commissioners, with a Pension to each of five hundred Pounds the Year, and in some Time after added Mr. *Coventry* to the Number with the same Pension: So that this first Reformation in the Time of Peace cost the King one Way or other no less than three thousand Pounds yearly, without the least visible Benefit or Advantage. The Lord *Berkley* understood Nothing that related either to the Office or Employment, and therefore very seldom was present in the Execution. But after He had enjoyed the Pension a Year or thereabout, He procured Leave to sell his Place, and procured a
Gen.

Gentleman, Mr. *Thomas Harvey*, to give him three thousand Pounds for it: So soon this temporary Commission, which might have expired within a Month, got the Reputation of an Office for Life by the good Managery of an Officer.

*The State of
the Navy at
the Commence-
ment of the
War.*

THIS was the State of the Navy before the War with *Holland* was resolved upon. Let us in the next Place see what Alterations were made in it, or what other Preparations were made, or Counsels entered upon, for the better Conduct of this War: And a clear and impartial View or Reflection upon what was then said and done, gave discerning Men an unhappy Presage of what would follow. There was no Discourse now in the Court, after this Royal Subsidy of five and twenty hundred thousand Pounds was granted, but "of giving the Law to the whole Trade of *Christendom*; of making all Ships which passed by "or through the narrow Seas to pay an Imposition "to the King, as all do to the King of *Denmark* who "pass by the *Sound*; and making all who pass near "to pay Contribution to his Majesty;" which must concern all the Princes of *Christendom*: And the King and Duke were often desired to discountenance and suppress this impertinent Talk, which must increase the Number of the Enemies. Commissioners were appointed to reside in all or the most eminent Port-Towns, for the Sale of all Prize-Goods; and these were chosen for the most Part out of those Members of the House of Commons, who were active to advance the King's Service or who promised to be so, to whom liberal Salaries were assigned.

*Commissioners
of Appeals
appointed.*

THERE were then Commissioners appointed to judge all Appeals, which should be made upon and against all Sentences given by the Judge of the Admiralty and his Deputies; and these were all Privy Counsellors, the Earl of *Lauterdale*, the Lord *Ashley*,¹² and the Secretaries of State, who were like to be most careful of the King's Profit. But then the Rules which were prescribed to judge by were such as were

*The Injustice
of their Sen-
tences.*

war-

warranted by no former Precedents, nor acknowledged to be just by the Practice of any neighbour Nation, and such as would make all Ships which traded for *Holland*, from what Kingdom soever, lawful Prize; which was foreseen would bring Complaints from all Places, as it did as soon as the War begun. *French* and *Spaniard* and *Swede* and *Dane* were alike treated; whilst their Ambassadors made loud Complaints every Day to the King and the Council for the Injustice and the Rapine, without Remedy, more than References to the Admiralty, and then to the Lords Commissioners of Appeal, which increased the Charge, and raised and improved the Indignity. Above all, the *Hanse-Towns* of *Hamburg*, *Lubeck*, *Bremen*, and the rest (who had large Exemptions and Privileges by Charter granted by former Kings and now renewed by this) had the worst Luck; for none of them could ever be distinguished from the *Dutch*. Their Ships were so like, and their Language so near, that not one of their Vessels were met with, from what Part of the World soever they came, or whithersoever they were bound, but they were brought in; and if the Evidence was such as there could be no Colour to retain them, but that they must be released, they always carried with them sad Remembrances of the Company they had been in.

THERE was one sure Rule to make any Ship Prize, which was, *if above three Dutch Mariners were aboard it there need no further Proof for the Forfeiture*; which being no where known could not be prevented, all Merchants Ships, when they are ready for their Voyage, taking all Seamen on Board of what Nation soever who are necessary for their Service: So that those *Dutchmen* who run from their own Country, to avoid fighting (as very many did, and very many more would have done), and put themselves on Board Merchants Ships of any other Country, where They were willingly entertained, made those Ships lawful Prize

Prize in which They served, by a Rule that Nobody knew nor would submit to.

Too much Encouragement given to Privateers.

It was resolved that all possible Encouragement should be given to Privateers, that is, to as many as would take Commissions from the Admiral to set out Vessels of War, as They call them, to take Prizes from the Enemy; which no Articles or Obligations can restrain from all the Villany They can act, and are a People, how countenanced soever or thought necessary, that do bring an unavoidable Scandal, and it is to be feared a Curse, upon the justest War that was ever made at Sea. A Sail! A Sail! is the Word with them; Friend or Foe is the same; They possess all They can master, and run with it to any obscure Place where They can sell it (which Retreats are never wanting), and never attend the Ceremony of an Adjudication. Besides the horrible Scandal and Clamour that this *Classis* of Men brought upon the King and the whole Government for Defect of Justice, the Prejudice which resulted from thence to the Publick and to the carrying on the Service is unspeakable: All Seamen run to them. And though the King now assigned an ample Share of all Prizes taken by his own Ships to the Seamen, over and above their Wages; yet there was great Difference between the Condition of the one and the other: In the King's Fleet They might gain well, but They were sure of Blows, Nothing could be got there without fighting; with the Privateers there was rarely fighting, They took all who could make little Resistance, and fled from all who were too strong for them. And so those Fellows were always well manned, when the King's Ships were compelled to stay many Days for Want of Men, who were raised by pressing and with great Difficulty.⁽¹⁴⁾ And whoever spake against those lewd People, upon any Case whatsoever, was thought to have no Regard for the Duke's Profit, nor to desire to weaken the Enemy.

IN all former Wars at Sea, as there was great Care taken to appoint Commissioners for the Sale of all Prize-Goods, who understood the Value of those Commodities They had to sell, yet were compelled to sell better Bargains than are usually got in publick Markets; so there was all Strictness used in bringing all Receivers to as punctual an Account, as any other of the King's Receivers are bound to make, and to compel them to pay in all the Money They receive into the Exchequer, that it might be issued out to the Treasurer of the Navy or to other Officers for the Expense of the War. And it had been a great Argument in the first Consultations upon this War, "that it would support itself; and that after one "good Fleet should be set out once to beat the "*Dutch*" (for that was never thought worthy of a Doubt), "the Prizes, which would every Day after "be taken, would plentifully do all the rest: Besides "the great Sum that the *Dutch* would give to purchase their Peace, and the yearly Rent They would "give for the Liberty of fishing;" with all which it was not thought fit to allow them "to keep above "such a Number of Ships of War, limited to so "many Ton and to so many Guns;" with many Particulars of that Nature, which were carefully digested by those who promoted the War. But now, after this Supply given by the Parliament, there was no more Danger of Want of Money: And many Discourses there were, "that the Prize-Money might "be better disposed in rebuilding the King's Houses, "and many other good Uses which would occur;" and the King forbore to speak any more of appointing Receivers and Treasurers for that Purpose, when all or most other Officers, who were judged necessary for the Service, were already named; and the Lord Treasurer, who by his Office should have the Recommendation of those Officers to the King, had a List of Men, who for the Reputation and Experience They had were in his Judgment worthy to be trusted,

to

to be presented to the King when He should enter upon that Subject.

Lord Ashley obtains a Grant appointing him Treasurer of Prize-Money.

BUT one Evening a Servant of the Lord *Ashley* came to the Chancellor with a Bill signed, and desired in his Master's Name, "that it might be sealed that "Night." The Bill was, "to make and constitute "the Lord *Ashley* Treasurer of all the Money that "should be raised upon the Sale of all Prizes, which "were or should be taken in this present War, with "Power to make all such Officers as should be necessary for the Service; and that He should account "for all Monies so received to the King himself, and "to no other Person whatsoever, and pay and issue "out all those Monies which He should receive in "such Manner as his Majesty should appoint by Warrant under his Sign Manual, and by no other "Warrant; and that He should be free and exempt "from accounting into the Exchequer." When the Chancellor had seen the Contents, He bade the Messenger tell his Lord, "that He would speak with "the King before He would seal that Grant, and that "He desired much to speak with himself."

The Chancellor reasons against sealing this Grant.

THE next Morning He waited upon the King, and informed him "of the Bill that was brought "to him, and doubted that He had been surprised; "That it was not only such an Original as was without any Precedent, but in itself in many Particulars destructive to his Service and to the Right of "other Men. That all Receivers of any Part of his "Revenue were accountable in the Exchequer, and "could receive their Discharge in no other Place: "And that if so great a Receipt, as this was already" (for the Fleet of Wine and other Ships already seized were by a general Computation valued at one hundred thousand Pounds), "and as it evidently would "be, should pass without the most formal Account; "his Majesty might be abominably coerced, nor "could it any other Way be prevented. And in "the next Place, that this Grant was not only derogatory

“gatory to the Lord Treasurer, but did really de-
 “grade him, there being another Treasurer made
 “more absolute than himself, and without Depend-
 “ence upon him.” And therefore He besought his
 Majesty, “that He would reconsider the Thing itself
 “and hear it debated, at least that the Treasurer
 “might be first heard, without which it could not
 “be done in Justice:” To which He added, “that
 “He would speak with the Lord *Abley* himself, and
 “tell him how much He was to blame to affect such
 “a Province, which might bring great Inconvenien-
 “ces upon his Person and his Estate.”

He quickly found that the King had not been sur-
 prised in what He had done, “which,” He said,
 “was absolutely in his own Power to do; and that
 “it would bring Prejudice only to himself, which
 “He had sufficiently provided against.” However
 He seemed willing to decline any Thing that looked
 like an Affront to the Treasurer, and therefore was
 content that the sealing it might be suspended till He
 had further considered.

THE Lord *Abley* came shortly to the Chancellor,
 and seemed “to take it unkindly that his Patent was
 “not sealed:” To which He answered, “that He
 “had suspended the immediate sealing it for three
 “Reasons; whereof one was, that He might first
 “speak with the King, who He believed would re-
 “ceive much Prejudice by it; another, that it would
 “not consist with the Respect He owed to the Lord
 “Treasurer, who was much affronted in it, to seal it
 “before He was made acquainted with it. And in
 “the last Place, that He had stopped it for his, the
 “Lord *Abley’s*, own Sake: And that He believed
 “He had neither enough considered the Indignity
 “that was offered to the Lord Treasurer, to whom
 “He professed so much Respect, and by whose Fa-
 “vour and powerful Interposition He enjoyed the
 “Office He held, nor his own true Interest, in sub-
 “mitting his Estate to those Incumbrances which such

“a Receipt would inevitably expose it to. And that
 “the Exemption from making any Account but to
 “the King himself would deceive him: And as it was
 “an unusual and unnatural Privilege, so it would
 “never be allowed in any Court of Justice, which
 “would exact both the Account and the Payment or
 “lawful Discharge of what Money He should receive;
 “and if He depended upon the Exemption He would
 “live to repent it.”

He answered little to the Particulars more than
 with some Sullenness, “that the King had given him
 “the Office, and knew best what is good for his own
 “Service; and that except his Majesty retracted his
 “Grant, He would look to enjoy the Benefit of it.
 “That He did not desire to put an Affront upon the
 “Lord Treasurer; and if there were any Expressions
 “in his Commission which reflected upon him, He
 “was content they should be mended or left out:
 “In all other Respects He was resolved to run the
 “Hazard.”

*The King
 obliges him to
 seal it.*

THE Treasurer himself, though He knew that He
 was not well used, and exceedingly disdained the Beha-
 viour of his Nephew (for the Lord *Asbley* had married
 his Niece), who He well knew had by new Friend-
 ships cancelled all the Obligations to him, would not
 appear to oppose what the King resolved, but sat
 unconcerned and took no Notice of any Thing. And
 so within a short Time the King sent a positive Order
 to the Chancellor to seal the Commission; which He
 could no longer refuse, and did it with the more
 Trouble, because He very well knew, that few Men⁽²⁴⁾
 knew the Lord *Asbley* better than the King himself
 did, or had a worse Opinion of his Integrity. But
 He was now gotten into Friendships which were most
 behooeful to him, and which could remove or re-
 concile all Prejudices: He was fast linked to Sir
Harry Bennet and Mr. *Coventry* in a League offensive
 and defensive, the same Friends and the same En-
 mies, and had got an entire Trust with the Lady,
 who

who very well understood the Benefit such an Officer would be to her. Nor was it difficult to persuade the King (who thought himself more rich in having one thousand Pounds in his Closet that Nobody knew of, than in fifty thousand Pounds in his Exchequer) how many Conveniences He would find in having so much Money at his own immediate Disposal, without the Formality of Privy Seals and other Men's Warrants, and the Indecency and Mischief which would attend a formal Account of all his generous Donatives and Expence, which should be known only to himself.

THOUGH the King seemed to continue the same gracious Countenance towards the Chancellor which He had used, and frequently came to his House when He was indisposed with the Gout, and consulted all his Business, which He thought of publick Importance, with him with equal Freedom; yet He himself found, and many others observed, that He had not the same Credit and Power with him. The nightly Meetings had of late made him more the Subject of the Discourse; and since the Time of the new Secretary They had taken more Liberty to talk of what was done in Council, than They had done formerly: And the Duke of *Buckingham* pleased himself and all the Company in acting all the Persons who spake there in their Looks and Motions, in which Piece of Mimickry He had an especial Faculty; and in this Exercise the Chancellor had a full Part. In the Height of Mirth, if the King said, "He would go such a Journey or do such a trivial Thing To-morrow," Somebody would lay a Wager that He would not do it; and when He asked Why, it was answered, "that the Chancellor would not let him." And then another would protest, "that He thought there was no Ground for that Imputation; however He could not deny that it was generally believed abroad, that his Majesty was entirely and implicitly governed by the Chancellor." Which often put the King to declare in some Passion, "that

Measures taken to prejudice the King against the Chancellor.

“the Chancellor had served him long, and understood his Business, in which He trusted him: But in any other Matter than his Business, He had no other Credit with him than any other Man;” which They reported with great Joy in other Companies.

A Proposal made to the King for Liberty of Conscience.

IN the former Session of the Parliament, the Lord *Ashley* out of his Indifferency in Matters of Religion, and the Lord *Arlington* out of his Good-Will to the *Roman Catholics*, had drawn in the Lord Privy Seal, whose Interest was most in the *Presbyterians*, to propose to the King an Indulgence for Liberty of Conscience: For which They offered two Motives; the one, “the Probability of a War with the *Dutch*,” though it was not then declared; “and in that Case the Prosecution of People at Home for their several Opinions in Religion would be very inconvenient, and might prove mischievous.” The other was, “that the Fright Men were in by Reason of the late Bill against Conventicles, and the Warmth the Parliament expressed with Reference to the Church, had so prepared all Sorts of Non-Conformists, that They would gladly compound for Liberty at any reasonable Rates: And by this Means a good yearly Revenue might be raised to the King, and a firm Concord and Tranquillity be established in the Kingdom, if Power were granted by the Parliament to the King to grant Dispensations to such whom He knew to be peaceably affected, for their Exercise of that Religion which was agreeable to their Conscience, without undergoing the Penalty of the Laws.” And They had prepared a Schedule, in which They computed what every *Roman Catholic* would be willing to pay yearly for the Exercise of his Religion, and so of every other Sect; which upon the Estimate They made, would indeed have amounted to a very great Sum of Money yearly.

The King approves it.

THE King liked the Arguments and the Project very well, and wished them to prepare such a Bill; which

which was done quickly, very short, and without any Mention of other Advantage to grow from it, than "the Peace and Quiet of the Kingdom, and an entire Reference to the King's own Judgment and Discretion in dispensing his Dispensations." This was equally approved: And though hitherto it had been managed with great Secrecy, that it might not come to the Knowledge of the Chancellor and the Treasurer; who They well knew would never consent to it; yet the King resolved to impart it to them. And the Chancellor being then afflicted with the Gout, the Committee that used to be called was appointed to meet at *Worcester-House*: And thither likewise came the Privy Seal and the Lord *Abley*, who had never before been present in those Meetings.

THE King informed them of the Occasion of their Conference, and caused the Draught for the Bill to be read to them; which was done, and such Reasons given by those who promoted it, as They thought fit; the chief of which was, "that there could be no Danger in trusting the King, whose Zeal to the Protestant Religion was so well known, that Nobody would doubt that He would use this Power, when granted to him, otherwise than should be for the Good and Benefit of the Church and State." The Chancellor and the Treasurer, as had been presaged, were very warm against it, and used many Arguments to dissuade the King from prosecuting it, "as a Thing that could never find the Concurrency of either or Both Houses, and which would raise a Jealousy in Both, and in the People generally, of his Affection to the *Papists*, which would not be good for either, and every Body knew that He had no Favour for either of the other Factions." But what the others said, who were of another Opinion, prevailed more; and his Majesty declared, "that the Bill should be presented to the House of Peers as from him, and in his Name; and that He hoped none of his Servants, who knew his Mind as

The Chancellor and Treasurer oppose it at the private Committee.

“well as every Body there did, would oppose it, but
 “either be absent or silent:” To which Both the
 Lords answered, “that They should not be absent
 “purposely, and if They were present, They hoped
 “his Majesty would excuse them if They spake ac-
 “cording to their Conscience and Judgment, which
 “They could not forbear to do;” with which his
 Majesty seemed unsatisfied, though the Lords of the
 Combination were better pleased than They would
 have been with their Concurrence.

*The Bill pre-
 sented to the
 House of
 Lords.*

WITHIN few Days after, the Chancellor remaining
 still in his Chamber without being able to go, the Bill
 was presented in the House of Peers by the Lord Privy
 Seal, as by the King's Direction and Approbation, and
 thereupon had the first Reading: And as soon as it

*The Treasurer
 and Bishops
 oppose it at
 the first Read-
 ing.*

was read, the Lord Treasurer spake against it, “as
 “unfit to be received and to have the Countenance of
 “another Reading in the House, being a Design
 “against the Protestant Religion and in Favour of
 “the *Papists*,” with many sharp Reflections upon
 those who had spoken for it; and many of the Bi-
 shops spake to the same Purpose, and urged many
 weighty Arguments against it. However it was mo-⁽²⁴⁷⁾
 ved, “that since it was averred *that it was with the*
 “*King's Privy*, it would be a Thing unheard of to
 “deny it a second Reading:” And that there might
 be no Danger of a Surprisal by its being read in a thin
 House, it was ordered “that it should be read the se-
 “cond Time” upon a Day named “at ten of the Clock
 “in the Morning;” with which all were satisfied.

IN the mean Time great Pains were taken to per-
 suade particular Men to approve it: And some of the
 Bishops were sharply reprehended for opposing the
 King's Prerogative, with some Intimation “that if
 “They continued in that Obstinacy They would re-
 “pent it;” to which They made such Answers as in
 Honesty and Wisdom They ought to do, without be-
 ing shaken in their Resolution. It was rather insinu-
 ated than declared, “that the Bill had been perused,”

some

some said "drawn, by the Chancellor," and averred "that He was not against it:" Which being confidently reported, and believed or not believed as He was more or less known to the Persons present, He thought himself obliged to make his own Sense known. And so on the Day appointed for the second Reading, with Pain and Difficulty He was in his Place in the House: And so after the second Reading of the Bill, He was of Course to propose the Commitment of it. Many of the Bishops and others spake fiercely against it, as a Way to undermine Religion; and the Lord Treasurer with his usual Weight of Words shewed the ill Consequence that must attend it, and "that in the Bottom it was a Project to get Money at the Price of Religion; which He believed was not intended or known to the King, but only to those who had projected it, and it may be imposed upon others who meant well."

The Treasurer and Bishops oppose it at the second Reading.

THE Lord Privy Seal, either upon the Observation of the Countenance of the House or Advertisement of his Friends, or unwilling to venture his Reputation in the Enterprize, had given over the Game the first Day, and now spake not at all: But the Lord *Ashley* adhered firmly to his Point, spake often and with great Sharpness of Wit, and had a Cadence in his Words and Pronunciation that drew Attention. He said, "it was the King's Misfortune that a Matter of so great Concernment to him, and such a Prerogative as it may be would be found to be inherent in him without any Declaration of Parliament, should be supported only by such weak Men as himself, who served his Majesty at a Distance, whilst the great Officers of the Crown thought fit to oppose it; which He more wondered at, because Nobody knew more than They the King's unshakeable Firmness in his Religion, that had resisted and vanquished so many great Temptations; and therefore He could not be thought unworthy of a greater Trust with Reference to it, than He would have by this Bill."

Lord Ashley speaks for it.

THE

*The Chancellor
speaks
against it.*

THE Chancellor, having not been present at the former Debate upon the first Day, thought it fit to sit silent in this, till He found the House in some Expectation to hear his Opinion : And then He stood up and said, "that no Man could say more, if it were
"necessary or pertinent, of the King's Constancy in
"his Religion, and of his understanding the Consti-
"tution and Foundation of the Church of *England*,
"than He ; no Man had been Witness to more Af-
"faults which He had sustained than He had been,
"and of many Victories ; and therefore if the Ques-
"tion were how far He might be trusted in that Point,
"He should make no Scruple in declaring, that He
"thought him more worthy to be trusted than any
"Man alive. But there was Nothing in that Bill that
"could make that the Question, which had con-
"founded all Notions of Religion, and erected a
"Chaos of Policy to otherthrow all Religion and Go-
"vernment : So that the Question was not, whether⁽⁴⁾
"the King were worthy of that Trust, but whether
"that Trust were worthy of the King. That it had
"been no new Thing for Kings to divest themselves
"of many particular Rights and Powers, because
"They were thereby exposed to more Trouble and
"Vexation, and so deputed that Authority to others
"qualified by them : And He thought it a very un-
"reasonable and unjust Thing to commit such a Trust
"to the King, which Nobody could suppose He
"could execute himself, and yet must subject him to
"daily and hourly Importunities, which must be so
"much the more uneasy to a Nature of so great
"Bounty and Generosity, that Nothing is so ungrate-
"ful to him as to be obliged to deny."

*And drops
some unguard-
ed Expres-
sions.*

IN the Vehemence of this Debate, the Lord *Ashley* having used some Language that He knew reflected upon him, the Chancellor let fall some unwary Expressions, which were turned to his Reproach and remembered long after. When He insisted upon the Wildness and Illimitedness in the Bill, He said, "it
"was

“ was Ship-Money in Religion, that Nobody could know the End of, or where it would rest; that if it were passed, Dr. *Goffe* or any other Apostate from the Church of *England* might be made a Bishop or Archbishop here, all Oaths and Statutes and Subscriptions being dispensed with :” Which were thought two envious Instances, and gave his Enemies Opportunities to make Glosses and Reflections upon to his Disadvantage. In this Debate it fell out that the Duke of *York* appeared very much against the Bill; which was imputed to the Chancellor, and served to *heap Coals of Fire upon his Head*. In the End, very few having spoken for it, though there were many who would have consented to it, besides the Catholick Lords, it was agreed that there should be no Question put for the Commitment; which was the most civil Way of rejecting it, and left it to be no more called for.

THE King was infinitely troubled at the ill Success of this Bill, which He had been assured would pass notwithstanding the Opposition that was expected; and it had produced one Effect that was foreseen though not believed, in renewing the Bitterness against the *Roman Catholics*. And They, who watched all Occasions to perform those Offices, had now a large Field to express their Malice against the Chancellor and the Treasurer, “ whose Pride only had disposed them to shew their Power and Credit in diverting the House from gratifying the King, to which They had been inclined;” and his Majesty heard all that could be said against them without any Dislike. After two or three Days He sent for them Both together into his Closet, which made it generally believed in the Court, that He resolved to take Both their Offices from them, and They did in Truth believe and expect it: But there was never any Cause appeared after to think that it was in his Purpose. He spake to them of other Business, without taking the least Notice of the other Matter, and dismissed them with a Countenance

nance less open than He used to have towards them, and made it evident that He had not the same Thoughts of them He had formerly.

AND when the next Day the Chancellor went to him alone, and was admitted into his Cabinet, and began to take Notice "that He seemed to have Dissatisfaction in his Looks towards him;" the King, in more Choler than He had ever before seen him, told him, "his Looks were such as they ought to be; that He was very much unsatisfied with him, and thought He had used him very ill; that He had deserved better of him, and did not expect that He would have carried himself in that Manner as He had done in the House of Peers, having known his Majesty's own Opinion from himself, which it seemed was of no Authority with him if it differed from his Judgment, to which He would not submit against his Reason."

THE other, with the Confidence of an honest Man, entered upon the Discourse of the Matter, assured him "the very proposing it had done his Majesty much Prejudice, and that They who were best affected to his Service in Both Houses were much troubled and afflicted with it: And of those who advised him to it, one knew Nothing of the Constitution of *England*, and was not thought to wish well to the Religion of it; and the other was so well known to him, that Nothing was more wonderful than that his Majesty should take him for a safe Counsellor." He had Recourse then again to the Matter, and used some Arguments against it which had not been urged before, and which seemed to make Impression. He heard all He said with Patience, but seemed not to change his Mind, and answered no more than "that it was no Time to speak to the Matter, which was now passed; and if it had been unseasonably urged, He might still have carried himself otherwise than He had done;" and so spake of Somewhat else.

His

HIS Majesty did not withdraw any of his Trust or Confidence from him in his Business, and seemed to have the same Kindness for him: But from that Time He never had the same Credit with him as He had before. The Lord *Ashley* got no Ground, but Sir *Harry Bennet* very much, who, though He spake very little in Council, shewed his Power out of it, by persuading his Majesty to recede from many Resolutions He had taken there. And afterwards in all the Debates in Council which were preparatory to the War, and upon those Particulars which have been mentioned before, which concerned the Justice and Policy that was to be observed, whatsoever was offered by the Chancellor or Treasurer was never considered. It was Answer enough, "that They were Enemies to the "War;" which was true, as long as it was in Deliberation: But from the Time it was resolved and remediless, none of them who promoted it contributed any Thing to the carrying it on proportionably to what was done by the other two.

THERE was another and a greater Mischief than hath been mentioned, that resulted from that unhappy Debate; which was the Prejudice and Disadvantage that the Bishops underwent by their so unanimous Dislike of that Bill. For from that Time the King never treated any of them with that Respect as He had done formerly, and often spake of them too slightly; which easily encouraged others not only to mention their Persons very negligently, but their Function and Religion itself, as an Invention to impose upon the free Judgments and Understandings of Men. What was preached in the Pulpit was commented upon and derided in the Chamber, and Preachers acted, and Sermons vilified as laboured Discourses, which the Preachers made only to shew their own Parts and Wit, without any other Design than to be commended and preferred. These grew to be the Subjects of the Mirth and Wit of the Court; and so much License was manifested in it, that gave infinite Scandal to those who
observed

observed it, and to those who received the Reports of it : And all serious and prudent Men took it as an ill Presage, that whilst all warlike Preparations were made in Abundance suitable to the Occasion, there should so little Preparation of Spirit be for a War against an Enemy, who might possibly be without some of our Virtues, but assuredly was without any of our Vices.

*The Plague
breaks out.*

THERE begun now to appear another Enemy, much more formidable than the *Dutch*, and more difficult to be struggled with ; which was the Plague, that brake out in the Winter, and made such an early Progress in the Spring, that though the weekly Numbers did not rise high, and it appeared to be only in the Outskirts of the Town, and in the most obscure Alleys, amongst the poorest People ; yet the ancient Men, who well remembered in what Manner the last great Plague (which had been near forty Years before) first brake out, and the Progress it afterwards made, foretold a terrible Summer. And many of them removed their Families out of the City to Country-Habitations ; when their Neighbours laughed at their Providence, and thought They might have stayed without Danger : But They found shortly that They had done wisely. In *March* it spread so much, that the Parliament was very willing to part : Which was likewise the more necessary, in Regard that so many of the Members of the House of Commons were assigned to so many Offices and Employments which related to the War, and which required their immediate Attendance. For though the Fleet was not yet gone out, yet there were many Prizes daily brought in, besides the first Seizure, which by this Time was adjudged lawful Prize ; in all which great Loss was sustained by the License of Officers as well as common Men, and the Absence of such as should restrain and punish it : So that, as soon as the Bill was passed the Houses for the good Aid They had given the King, and was ready for the Royal Assent, his Majesty passed it, and prorogued

rogued the Parliament in *April* (which was in 1665) The Parli-
ment pro-
rogued. till *September* following; his Majesty declaring, “that
“if it pleased God to extinguish or allay the Fierceness
“of the Plague,” which at that Time raged more, “He
“should be glad to meet them then; by which Time
“They would judge by some Success of the War,
“what was more to be done. But if that Visitation
“increased, They should have Notice by Proclama-
“tion that They might not hazard themselves.”

THE Parliament being thus prorogued, there was The Fleet pre-
pared. the same Reason to hasten out the Fleet; towards which the Duke left Nothing undone, which his unwearied Industry and Example could contribute towards it, being himself on Board, and having got all Things necessary into his own Ship that He cared for. But He found that it was absolutely requisite to put out to Sea, though many Things were wanting in other Ships, even of Beer and other Provision of Victual; not only to be before the Enemy, but because He saw it would be impossible, whilst the Ships were in Port, to keep the Seamen from going on Shore, by which They might bring the Plague on Board with them; and there was already a Suspicion that the Infection was got into one of the smaller Ships.

IT hath been said before, that all Things relating to the Fleet were upon the Matter wholly governed by Mr. *Coventry*. It is very true, that the Officers of The Duke of
York consults
much with
three eminent
Sea-Officers. the Navy constantly attended the Duke together with those three Sea-Captains who have been named before: But from the Time that the War was declared, his Highness consulted daily, for his own Information and Instruction, with Sir *John Lawson* and Sir *George Ayscue* and Sir *William Pen*, all Men of great Experience, and who had commanded in several Battles. Upon the Advice of these Men the Duke always made his Estimates and all Propositions to the King. There was somewhat of Rivalship between the two last, because They had been in equal Command: Therefore the Duke took Sir *William Pen* into his own Ship, and
made

made him Captain of it; which was a great Trust, and a very honourable Command, that exempted him from receiving any Orders but from the Duke, and so extinguished the other Emulation, the other two being Flag-Officers and to command several Squadrons.

IN all Conferences with these Men Mr. *Coventry's* ⁽²⁵⁾ Presence and Attendance was necessary, both to reduce all Things into Writing which were agreed upon, and to be able to put the Duke in Mind of what He was to do. *Lawson* was the Man of whose Judgment the Duke had the best Esteem: And He was in Truth, of a Man of that Breeding (for He was a perfect Tarpawlin), a very extraordinary Person; He understood his Profession incomparably well, spake clearly and pertinently, but not pertinaciously enough when He was contradicted. *Ayscue* was a Gentleman, but had kept ill Company too long, which had blunted his Understanding, if it had been ever sharp: He was of few Words, yet spake to the Purpose and to be easily understood. *Pen*, who had much the worst Understanding, had a great Mind to appear better bred, and to speak like a Gentleman; He had got many good Words which He used at Adventure; He was a formal Man, and spake very leisurely but much, and left the Matter more intricate and perplexed than He found it. He was entirely governed by Mr. *Coventry*, who still learned enough of him to offer any Thing rationally in the Debate, or to cross what was not agreeable to his own Fancy, by which He was still swayed out of the Pride and Perverseness of his Will.

UPON Debate and Conference with these Men, the Duke brought Propositions to the King reduced into Writing by Mr. *Coventry*; and the King commonly consulted them with the Lord Treasurer in his Presence, the Propositions being commonly for Increase of the Expense, which Mr. *Coventry* was solicitous by all the Ways possible to contrive. To those Consultations the Duke always brought the Sea-Officers, and
Mr.

Mr. *Coventry*, who spake much more than They, to explain especially what Sir *William Pen* said, who took upon himself to speak most, and often what the others had never thought though They durst not contradict; and Sir *John Lawson* often complained, "that Mr. *Coventry* put that in Writing which had never been proposed by them, and would continue disputing it till They yielded." Every Conference raised the Charge very much; and what They proposed Yesterday as enough was To-day made twice as much; if They proposed six Fire-Ships to be provided, within two or three Days They demanded twelve: So there could be no possible Computation of the Charge.

By this Means the Fleet that was now ready to put to Sea amounted to fourscore Sail; and the King willingly consented, upon the Reasons the Duke presented to him, that they should set Sail as soon as was possible. And before the End of *April* the Duke was with the whole Fleet at Sea, and visited the Coast of *Holland*, and took many Ships in their View, their Fleet being not yet in Readiness. Many Noblemen, the Earl of *Peterborough*, the Lord Viscount *Ferrers*, and others, with many Gentlemen of Quality, went as Volunteers, and were distributed into the several Ships with much Countenance by the Duke, and as many taken into his own Ship as could be done with Convenience.

The Duke puts out to Sea.

Many Noblemen go as Volunteers.

THE Duke of *Buckingham* had from the first Mention of the War, which He promoted all He could declared "that He would make one in it:" And when it was declared, He desired to have the Command of a Ship, which the Duke positively denied to give him, except the King commanded it (and his Majesty was content to refer that, as He did the Nomination of all the other Officers, to his Brother), and did not think fit that a Man, of what Quality soever, who had never been at Sea, should his first Voyage have the Command of any considerable Ship (and a small one had not been for his Honour); -at which He was much troubled.

troubled. Yet his Friends told him that He was too far engaged, to stay at Home when his Royal Highness ventured his own Person: And thereupon He resolved to go a Volunteer, and put himself on Board a Flag-Ship, the Captain whereof was in his Favour. And then He desired, "that in Respect of his Quality, and his being a Privy Counsellor, He might be present in all Councils of War." The Duke thought this not reasonable, and would not make a new Precedent. There were many of the ancient Nobility, Earls, and Barons, who were then on Board as Volunteers; and if the Consideration of Quality might entitle them to be present in Council, all Orders would be broken, there being none called but Flag-Officers: And therefore his Royal Highness positively refused to gratify him in that Point; which the Duke of *Buckingham* thought (it being enough known that the Duke had neither Esteem or Kindness for him) to be such a personal Disobligation, that would well excuse him for declining the Enterprize. And pretending that He did appeal to the King in Point of Right, He left the Fleet, and returned to the Shore to complain. And We return back too to the View of other Particulars.

*Some new
Peers made.*

*Sir Charles
Berkley
created Earl
of Falmouth.*

THERE were two Persons, whom the King and his Brother did desire to make remarkable by some extraordinary Favours: One of which was equally grateful to Both, Sir *Charles Berkley*, who had been lately created an *Irish* Viscount by the Name of Lord *Fitzbarding*, the old and true Surname of the Family; upon whom the King had, for Reasons only known to himself, set his Affection so much, that He had never denied any Thing He asked for himself or for any Body else, and was well content that He should be looked upon as his Favourite. He had been long thought so to the Duke, who was willing to promote any Thing to his Advantage: And the King had deferred those Instances only till the Parliament should be prorogued, lest it should raise the Appetites of others to make Suits, which He had hitherto defended himself

himself from, by declaring He would make no more Lords. But the Parliament was no sooner prorogued, than it was resolved to be put in Execution: And when it was to be done, the Chancellor had the Honour to be present alone with the King and Duke, when it seemed to be first thought of. And when the Duke proposed it as a Suit to the King, that He would make the Lord *Fitzbarding* an Earl, extolling his Courage and Affection to the King; He was pleased with the Motion to that Degree, that He extolled him with Praises which could be applied to few Men: And it was quickly resolved that He should be an Earl of *England*, and a Title was as soon found out; and so He was created Earl of *Falmouth*, before He had one Foot of Land in the World.

AND to gratify the King for this Favour, the Duke likewise proposed that the King would make Sir *Harry Bennet* a Lord, whom all the World knew He did not care for; which was as willingly granted: And He had no more Estate than the other, and could not so easily find a Title for his Barony. But because He had no Mind to retain his own Name, which was no good one, his first Warrant was to be created *Cbeney*, which was an ancient Barony expired, and to which Family He had not the least Relation: And for some Days upon the signing the Warrant He was called Lord *Cbeney*, until a Gentleman of the best Quality in *Buckinghamshire*, who though He had no Title to the Barony was yet of the same Family, and inherited most Part of the Estate, which was very considerable, and was married to a Daughter of the Duke of *Newcastle*, heard of it, and made Haste to stop it. He went first to Sir *Harry Bennet* himself, and desired him
 “not to affect a Title to which He had no Relation;
 53) “and to which though He could not pretend of direct
 “Right, yet He was not so obscure but that himself or
 “a Son of his might hereafter be thought worthy of
 “it by the Crown; and in that Respect it would be
 “some Trouble to him to see it vested in the Family
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*And Sir H.
 Bennet Lord
 Arlington.*

“of a Stranger.” The Secretary did not give him so civil an Answer as He expected, having no Knowledge of the Gentleman. Yet shortly after, upon Information of his Condition and Quality (as He was in all Respects very worthy of Consideration), the Patent being not yet prepared, He was contented to take the Title of a little Farm that had belonged to his Father and was sold by him, and now in the Possession of another private Person; and so was created Lord *Arlington*, the proper and true Name of the Place being *Harlington*, a little Village between *London* and *Uxbridge*.

Mr. Frescheville created Lord Frescheville.

THE King took the Occasion to make these two Noblemen from an Obligation that lay upon him to confer two Honours at the same Time; the one upon Mr. *Frescheville*, of a very ancient Family in *Derbyshire* and a fair Estate, who had been always bred in the Court, a menial Servant of the last King, and had served him in the Head of a Troop of Horse raised at his own Charge in the War, and whom his late Majesty had promised to make a Baron.

And Mr. Richard Arundel Lord Arundel of Trecice.

THE other was Mr. *Richard Arundel of Trecice* in *Cornwall*, a Gentleman as well known by what He had done and suffered in the late Time, as by the Eminency of his Family, and the Fortune He was still Master of after the great Depredation of the Time. *John Arundel*, his Father, was of the best Interest and Estate of the Gentlemen of *Cornwall*: And in the Beginning of the Troubles, when the Lord *Hopton* and the other Gentlemen with him were forced to retire into *Cornwall*, He and his Friends supported them, and gave the first Turn and Opposition to the Current of the Parliament's Usurpation; and to them, their Courage and Activity, all the Success that the Lord *Hopton* had afterwards was justly to be imputed as to the first Rise. The old Gentleman was then above seventy Years of Age, and infirm; but all his Sons He engaged in the War: The two eldest were eminent Officers, Both Members of the House of Commons, and the more zealous Soldiers by having been Witnesses of the

The eminent Services of this Gentleman and his Family.

the naughty Proceedings of those who had raised the Rebellion. The eldest was killed in the Head of his Troop, charging and driving back a bold Sally that was made out of *Plymouth* when it was besieged: And this other Gentleman of whom we now speak, and who was then the younger Brother, was an excellent Colonel of Foot to the End of the War.

WHEN Sir *Nicholas Slanning*, who was Governour of *Pendennis*, lost his Life bravely in the Siege of *Bristol*, the King knew not into what Hands to commit that important Place so securely, as by sending a Commission to old *John Arundel of Trerice* to command, well knowing that it must be preserved principally by his Interest; and in Respect of his Age joined his eldest Son with him: And after his Death He added the younger Brother to the Command, of whom We are speaking, who was in Truth then looked upon as the most powerful Person in that County.

WHEN the King, then Prince, was compelled after almost the whole *West* was lost to retire into *Cornwall*, He remained in *Pendennis Castle*, and from thence made his first Embarkation to *Scilly*: And at parting, out of a princely Sense of the Affection and Service of that Family, He took the old Gentleman aside, and in the Presence of his Son wished him "to defend the Place as long as He could, because Relief might come, of which there was some Hope from abroad;" and 54) promised him, "if He lived to come back into *England* " He would make him a Baron, and if He were dead " He would make it good to his Son." The old Man behaved him bravely to his Death, having all his Estate taken from him; and his Son remained as eminently faithful, and had as deep Marks of it as any Man: So that at the King's Return, who never forgot his Promise, He might have received the Effect of it in the first Creation, if He had desired it; but He chose rather to recover the Bruises his Fortune had endured by Seizures and Sequestrations, before He would embark him in a Condition that must presently raise

his Expense in his Way of Living. And as soon as He found himself at Ease in that Respect, He got a Friend to inform the King, "that He was ready to receive his Bounty."

AND his Majesty, being under these two Obligations, was willing to take the same Opportunity to prefer the two other Persons He loved so well. But at the same Time that He declared his Resolution for the last two (but what concerned the others had been long known and expected), his Majesty reflected upon the Number of the House of Peers, which was in many Respects found grievous, and declared to his Brother and the Chancellor, who were only present, "that no Importunity should prevail with him to make any more Lords in many Years, and till the present Number should be lessened;" in which Resolution the Duke willingly concurred, and protested "that He would never more importune him in that Point." The Reason of mentioning this Declaration and Resolution will appear hereafter. This Creation was no sooner over, than the new Earl of *Falmouth* went with the Duke to Sea: For though his Relation was now immediately to the King and near his Person, yet He thought himself obliged not to be from the Duke when He was engaged in so much Danger; and He was confessed by all Men to abound in a most fearless Courage.

*A particular
Relation of
passing the
Canary Pa-
tent.*

IT will not be unseasonable in this Place to take a View of an Act of State that passed about this Time, and which afterwards administered Matter of Reproach against the Chancellor, and was made Use of by his Enemies as an Evidence of his Corruption; for the better understanding whereof, it will be necessary to begin the Relation from the original Ground of the Counsel. About the first *Christmas* after the King's happy Return into *England*, the Chancellor, Treasurer, Privy Seal, and the two Chief Justices (being the Persons appointed by the Statute for that Purpose) met together to set the Prices upon the several Sorts of Wines; and were attended, according to Custom, by the

the Company of Vintners, and the chief Merchants in the City who traded in that Commodity. And being first to limit the Merchants to a reasonable Rate, before They could prescribe any Price to the Vintners upon the Retail, They found, by the best Enquiry They could make, that the first Prices beyond the Seas which the Merchants paid for their Wines were so excessive, that the Retail could not be brought within any Compass; and that since the Beginning of the Troubles the Price of Wines in general was exceedingly increased, and particularly that of the *Canaries* was almost double to what it had been in the Year 1640.

THE Chancellor knew very well, by the Correspondence He had held in the *Canaries* (during the Time that He had served his Majesty as his Ambassador in *Spain*), that the whole Trade for the *Canary* Wine was driven solely by the *English*, and the Commodity entirely vended in the King's Dominions, all *Christendom* beside not spending any Quantity of that Wine: And thereupon He asked the Merchants "whether what He had reported was not true, and "what would be the Way to remedy that Mischief."

- 155) THEY all confessed it to be very true, and "that it "was a great Reproach to the Nation to be so much "imposed upon in a Trade that They might govern "themselves: And that the unreasonable Prices of "the Wine were not the greatest Prejudice that was "befallen that Trade. That before the Troubles "They had been so far from employing any Stock of "Money for the Support of that Traffick, that They "used to send their Ships fully laden with all Com- "modities thither, which yielded very good Markets, "being sent from thence into the *West-Indies* with their "Plate Fleets; and that the very Pipe-Staves which "They carried did very near supply the Value of their "Wine, so that They brought Home the Proceed of "their Commodities either in Pieces of *Eight*, or such "other Merchandises as had been brought thither "from the *Indies*, and upon which They received

“ great Profit. On the contrary, that the Trade was
 “ now wholly driven by ready Money; that the Com-
 “ modities They send thither are not taken off, except
 “ at their own Prices, so that They have for the late
 “ Years sent their Vessels empty thither, except only
 “ with some few Pipe-Staves, which by the Destruction
 “ in *Ireland* They could not send in any great Propor-
 “ tion; and that their Ships return from thence with
 “ no other Lading but those Wines, which They
 “ trade for in ready Money, either by Pieces of *Eight*
 “ sent in their Ships from hence, or by Bills of Ex-
 “ change charged upon some known Merchants in
 “ *Spain*. That over and above these Disadvantages,
 “ the *Spaniards* in those Islands had of late imposed
 “ new Duties upon the Wine, and laid other Imposi-
 “ tions upon the Merchants than the *English* Nation
 “ had been ever accustomed to.” They said, “ all
 “ these Inconveniences proceeded from the immoderate
 “ Appetite this Nation hath for that Sort of Wine,
 “ and therefore They take from them as much as
 “ They can make; and from our own Disorder and
 “ Irregularity in buying them, and contending who
 “ shall get the most, and so raising the Price upon
 “ one another, and making the *Spaniards* themselves
 “ the Judges what the Merchants shall pay.”

THE Lords, upon Consultation between themselves,
 found the Matter too hard for them, and that the Re-
 formation of so much Evil must be made by Degrees,
 and upon a Representation of the Whole, with the
 Difficulties which attended it, to the King and his
 Privy Council, whose Wisdoms only could provide a
 Remedy proportionable to the Mischiefs. For the
 present, as They resolved not to raise the Prices at
 which Wine was at that Time bought and sold (which
 They believed, how reasonably soever it might be
 done, would yet be very unpopular), so They thought
 it not just to draw down and abate those Prices, since it
 appeared to them that the Wines cost more in Propor-
 tion upon the Places of their Growth. They declared
 there-

therefore to the Merchants and to the Vintners, "that though for the present They would permit the same Prices to continue for the next Year, which they had been sold for the present Year," and which indeed were confirmed by the late Act of Parliament, "They should hereafter take Care what Markets They made; for that They were resolved the next Year to make the Prices much lower both to the Merchant and to the Vintner." And so, upon the Report made by the Lords of the whole Matter to the King in Council, and of what They thought fit to be done for the present, a Proclamation was published accordingly.

THE next Year both the Merchants and Vintners were very earnest Suitors to the Lords at their accustomed Meeting, that greater Prices might be allowed, or at least that the same might be continued; making it very evident, that their Wines cost them more than 156) they had done the Year before. Upon the Debate the *Canary* Merchants were much divided. Some of them insisted very importunately to have the Price raised, "because it was notorious that They had paid much more than formerly, by Reason," as They alleged, "that the Vintage had not yielded near the Proportion that it used to do." Others, though confessing the Increase of Price, yet pretended a more publick Spirit and the Necessity of a Reformation: And therefore They pressed as earnestly, "that the Price might not be raised, but that They might be permitted to take what They had done already for this Year." It was quickly discovered whence this Moderation proceeded; and that the last Proposers had a great Quantity of Wine upon their Hands, which had been provided the Year before, and so might well be sold at the same Price; but that the former had no old Wine left, but were supplied with a full Provision of new, which had cost them so much dearer. Both the one and the other desired the Lords, "that whatever Resolution They took for the present, a Clause might be inserted in
"the

"the Proclamation, That, the next Year which followed, "Canary Wine should not be sold for above four and twenty "Pounds the Pipe, and that every Year after it should be "drawn lower," as it might well be, it having been sold in the Year 1640 for twenty Pounds the Pipe; though, in the Year when his Majesty returned, it had been permitted to be sold at six and thirty Pounds the Pipe. "Such a Clause," They said, "would give "Notice to the Islanders, and oblige them to sell their "Wines at more reasonable Rates, and would render "the Merchants unexcusable if They should give "greater." Notwithstanding all their Allegations, the Lords remembered what They had declared to them the last Year, which was as fair a Warning as any Thing They could now say would be. And accordingly They set lower Prices upon all Wines for the Year to come than had been allowed the last, as the most effectual Warning for the future: Which was thought a very rigorous Proceeding; but being reported to the King and Council, what They had done was allowed and confirmed, and his Majesty was well contented that such a Clause as They had proposed should be inserted in the Proclamation; which was accordingly done.

THE Year following, when the Lords met again according to Custom, which is as hath been said about *Christmas*, They found not the least Reformation; on the contrary, that the *Canary* Merchants had paid dearer than ever, which made them all more solicitous to have the Price raised, and the Vintners as importunate for their Retail. And indeed the Vintners seemed to be in a much worse Condition than the Merchants. And They made it appear, "that They were often "compelled to pay higher Prices to the Merchant than "were imposed by their Lordships; without which "They could get no good Wine, and so must give "over their keeping House: That the Penalty upon "the Merchant was very small, being not above forty "Shillings a Pipe, and the Crime not easy to be
"disco-

“discovered, as was evident by there nor having been
 “one Merchant questioned in many Years for that
 “common Transgression; whereas on the Vintner’s
 “Part the Penalty was very severe, and easily disco-
 “vered by any Man who went to a Tavern and would
 “be an Informer, and that most of the Vintners in
 “*London* were at that very Time sued in the *Exchequer*
 “upon those very Penalties, which if exacted must
 “produce their Ruin.”

THE Merchants excused themselves for their pre-
 sent Pretence, and for their having given more for
 their Wines than was lawful for them to have done by
 their own Desire: “That They had done their best,
 “and that the greatest Traders amongst them had con-
 57)“sented between themselves not to suffer the Prices to
 “be raised upon them; but that They found it inef-
 “fectual, and that though They should give over
 “their Trades, it would produce no Reformation.
 “That the Trade was open to all Adventurers, and
 “that there had been many Ships sent from *England* in
 “that very Year by *Jews*, and People of several
 “Trades, who had never been before known to trade
 “to the *Canaries*: Infomuch as when They who had
 “~~been~~ long bred up to the Trade, and had been long
 “Factors in those Islands, sent their Ships thither, They
 “found other *English* Ships there, and the Wines
 “bought at a greater Price than They had allowed
 “their Factors to give; so that They must either have
 “their Ships return empty and unladen, or take the
 “Wines at the Prices other Men gave. That They
 “had chosen the latter, as well to continue their
 “Trade, as to draw Home some Part of the Stock
 “They had in that Country. That They could ima-
 “gine but two Ways to reform that Excess: The
 “one, by putting the Trade into such a Method and
 “under such Rules, as might restrain that License,
 “and not leave it in the Power of Persons who never had
 “been in the Trade to give the Law to it; and by this
 “Means the Islanders would find it necessary so set
 “reason-

“ in the Business, and the Damage and Dishonour the
 “ Nation underwent in the carrying on that Trade :
 “ That many Merchants had presented a Petition to
 “ him, containing an Expedient to bring it into bet-
 “ ter Order ; but finding them not to appear in it, and
 “ being informed that They were best acquainted with
 “ and most engaged in that Trade, He had sent for
 “ them to know their Opinion, whether They thought
 “ what was proposed to be reasonable and fit to be
 “ granted, and if so, why They did not concern them-
 “ selves in it.” They answered, “ that the Reason
 “ why They had not appeared in it was, because They
 “ thought They should be Losers by it, and therefore
 “ were not solicitous to procure a Grant from his Ma-
 “ jesty to their own Damage ;” and so enlarged “ upon
 “ the Nature of the Trade, their long Experience in
 “ it, and the Greatness of their Stock, which They
 “ should not be allowed to continue under any Regu-
 “ lation. But as They did not think themselves in a
 “ Situation to be solicitous for a Change, so They
 “ could not deny, being required by his Majesty to
 “ speak the Truth, but that the Proposition that was
 “ made was for the publick Good and Benefit of the
 “ Kingdom, and that They conceived no other Way
 “ to redeem that Trade, and the Nation from the In-
 “ solence which the *Spaniard* exercised upon them ;”
 implying, “ that if his Majesty would command
 “ them, They would likewise concur and join in the
 “ carrying on the Service :” To which his Majesty
 giving them gracious Encouragement, They all seem-
 ed to depart of one Mind ; and his Majesty remained
 confirmed in the former Opinion He had of it,

*The King ap-
 proves the Pe-
 tition.*

But there remained yet an Objection, which was
 principally insisted on by the Ministers of the Revenue,
 who alleged very reasonably, “ that this new-model-
 “ ling the Trade must produce some Alteration, and
 “ would meet some Opposition from the *Spaniard*,
 “ which for the Time would lessen the Customs and
 “ entitle the Farmers to a Defalcation.” The Petition

was

was therefore referred to the Farmers of the Customs, who were to attend the next Council-Day : And being then called, They did acknowledge, "that the Design proposed would prove very profitable to the Kingdom in many Respects," upon which They enlarged, "and that in the End it would not be attended with any Diminutions of the Customs; but for the present," They said, "They could not
 59) "but expect, that the Obstinacy and Contradiction of the *Spaniard* would give such a Stop to Trade, at least for one Year, that if his Majesty did not reimburse them for what should fall short in the Receipt of Custom, They must look to be very great Losers." The Merchants on the other Hand offered "to be bound, that if They did not the first Year bring in as much as had been usually entered, They would make good what should be wanting to the Farmers upon a Medium." Whereupon his Majesty himself declared, "that He would not for a small Damage to himself, hinder the Kingdom from enjoying so great a Benefit : " And He commanded his Solicitor General, who then attended the Board, "to prepare such a Charter as might provide for all those good Ends which were desired in the Petition," and which had been so largely debated; and it was notorious, that there had never been a greater Concurrence of the Board in any Direction.

MANY Months passed before the Charter was prepared; in which Time there was never the least new Objection made against it, nor was it known that any Man was unsatisfied with it. After it was engrossed and had passed the King's Hand, it was brought to the Great Seal; and there the Lord Mayor of *London* and the Court of Aldermen had entered a Caveat to stop the passing of it. The Chancellor, according to Course, appointed a Time when He would hear all Parties. The City alleged an Order made a Year or two before by the King in Council, upon a Complaint

*The City of
London opposes it.*

plaint then exhibited by the Court of Aldermen against the *Turkey Company* and other Corporations, "in which," They said, "there were very many Merchants of the best Trade and of the great Estates in the City, who would never take out their Freedom, and so refused to bear any Charge or Office in it, to the very great Prejudice and Dishonour of the City and of the Government thereof; since They were thereby compelled to call inferiour Citizens to be Aldermen, before They had Estates to bear the Charge of it, whilst the gravest and the richest Men, who were most fit, could not be obliged to accept of it, because They were not Freemen." The Persons concerned, which were indeed a great Number of very valuable and substantial Men and of great Estates, answered, "that They had traded very many Years without finding any Reason to take out their Freedom, which They might do or not do as They thought best for themselves; that They had always paid Scot and Lot in the several Parishes where They lived with the highest of the Inhabitants, and were taxed the more because They had not taken out their Freedom, They who taxed them being always Freemen; that They were grown old now, and had no Mind to become young Freemen, but would rather give over their Trade, and retire into the Country where They had Estates."

BESIDES the Rules which the King gave upon the Difference then in Question, He was pleased to declare, and appointed it to be entered as an Order in the Council-Book, "that Care should be taken, that in all Charters which He should hereafter renew or grant to any Companies or Corporations in the City of *London*, They should first make themselves Freemen of the City; by which They might be liable to the Charges of it as other Citizens are." They said, "that there were many of this Company
" that

“that was now to be incorporated who were not “Freemen.” And therefore the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen desired the Benefit of the King’s Order, which was read.

THE Merchants confessed, “that many of them “were not Freemen, and resolved not to be :” They said, “They had never heard of this Order, and “were sorry that They had spent so much Money “to no Purpose.” The Chancellor declared to them, *The Chancellor refused to put the Seal till the Merchants had satisfied the City.* “that He could not seal their Charter till They had “complied with the King’s Determination, and given “the Court of Aldermen Satisfaction ;” and They all seemed as positive that They would rather be without their Charter, than They would submit to the other Inconveniences : And so They departed. But after some Days Deliberation and Consultation between themselves, and when They found that there was no Possibility to procure a Dispensation from that Order, They treated with the City and agreed with them in the preparing a Clause to be inserted in their Charter, by which They were obliged in so many Years to become Freemen ; which Clause, being approved by all Parties, was in the King’s Presence entered in the Bill that his Majesty had signed, and being afterwards added to the Engrossment, it was again thus reformed and sent to the Great Seal, and presented to the Chancellor to be sealed.

THERE were by this Time several new Caveats entered against it at the Seal ; all which the Chancellor heard, and settled every one of them to the joint Satisfaction of all Parties, and all Caveats were withdrawn. There was then a Rumour, that there would be some Motions made against it in the House of Commons : And some Parliament-Men, who served for the Western Boroughs, came to the Chancellor, and desired him “that He would defer the sealing “it for some Days till They might be heard, since “it would undo their Western Trade ; and,” They said, “They resolved to move the House of Com-
“mons

"mons to put a Stop to it." The Chancellor informed them of the whole Progress it had passed, and told them, "He believed that They would hardly be able to offer any good Reasons against it:" However, since it was then well known that the Parliament would be prorogued within ten or twelve Days, He said "He would suspend the sealing it till then, to the End that They might offer any Objections against it there or any where else." But though the Parliament sate longer than it was then conceived it would have done, there was no Mention or Notice taken of it: And after the Prorogation no Application was farther made for the stopping it, and the Merchants pressed very importunately that it might be sealed, alleging with Reason "that the deferring it so long had been very much to their Prejudice." Whereupon the Chancellor conceived that it would not consist with his Duty to delay it longer, and so affixed the Great Seal to it.

THE Company then chose a Governour and other Officers according to their Charter, and made such Orders and By-Laws as They thought fit for the carrying on and Advancement of their Trade, which They might alter when They thought convenient; and for the present They resolved upon a joint Stock, and assigned so many Shares to each particular Man.

Some Differences in the Company after their Incorporation.

In this Composition and Distribution there fell out some Difference between themselves, which could not be taken Notice of abroad: And even some of them, who first petitioned and were most solicitous to procure the Charter, did what They could to hinder the Effect of it; sent privately to their Factors at the *Canaries*, "to oppose any Orders that should be sent from the Governour and the Company, and that They should do all They could to incense the *Spaniards* against the Charter," and bade them promise "that all their Wine should be taken off in Spite of the Corporation." Whereupon great Disorders

orders did arise in the *Canaries* between the *English* themselves; and by the Conjunction of the *Spaniards* with those few *English* who opposed the Charter, They proceeded so far as to send the principal Factors for the Company out of the Island into *Spain*,
 51) and to make a publick Act by the Governour and Council there, “that no Ship belonging to the Company should be suffered to come into the Harbour, “or to take in any Lading from the Island:” All which was transacted there many Months before it was known in *England*, and probably would have been prevented or easily reformed, if it had not pleased God that the Plague at this Time spread very much in *London*, and if the War with the *Dutch* had not restrained all *English* Ships from going to the *Canaries* for the Space of a Year; which Intermision, not to be prevented nor in Truth foreseen, gave some Advantage to the Merchants at Home who opposed their Charter, who complained for the Not-Return of their several Stocks within the Time that the Company had promised they should be returned.

I AM not willing to resume this Discourse in another Place, which I should be compelled to do if I discontinued the Relation in this Place, as in Point of Time I should do; but I choose rather to insert here what fell out afterwards, and to finish the Account of that Affair, that there may be no Occasion in the Current of this Narration to mention any Particulars that related to it.

WHEN the King was at *Oxford*, and was informed of what had passed at the *Canaries*, some Merchants appeared there to petition against the Charter, whereof there were some who were the first Petitioners for it. His Majesty appointed a Day for the solemn hearing it in the Presence of his Privy Council, the Governour being likewise summoned and present there. Upon opening all their Grievances the Petitioners themselves confessed, “that They could not

*Which are
referred to
the King.*

“complain of the Charter; that it was a just and
 “necessary Charter, and for the great Benefit of the
 “Kingdom, though some private Men might for the
 “present be Losers by it: That their Complaint was
 “only against their Constitutions and By-Laws, and
 “the severe Prosecution thereupon contrary to the
 “Intention of the Charter itself;” instancing, amongst
 other Things, “the very short Day limited by the
 “Charter, after which They could not continue their
 “Trade without being Members of the Corpora-
 “tion; and that Day was so soon after the sealing
 “the Charter, that it was not possible for them to
 “draw their Stocks from thence in so short a
 “Time.”

WHEN They had finished all their Objections, the
 King observed to them, “that They complained
 “only of what themselves had done, and not at all
 “of the Charter, which gave them only Authority
 “to choose a Governour and to make Constitutions
 “and By-Laws, but directed not what the Constitu-
 “tions and By-Laws should be, which were the Re-
 “sult of their own Consultations, in which the ma-
 “jor Part must have concurred; and of that Kind
 “the Resolution for a joint Stock was one, which
 “and all the rest They might alter again at the next
 “Court, if the major Part were grieved with it.”
 But because They had complained of some Particu-
 lars, in which They might have Reason on their
 Side, his Majesty expressed a Willingness to mediate
 and to make an Agreement between them: And
 thereupon He required the Governour to answer
 such and such Particulars which seemed to have most
 of Justice; but the Governour answered all at large,
 and made it clearly appear, that They had in Truth
 no Cause of Complaint. As to the short Day that
 was assigned for the drawing away of their Stocks,
 which had the greatest Semblance of Reason in all
 They complained of, He said, “They had no Rea-
 “son to mention their Want of Warning, for that
 “the

“ the Day was well enough known to them long before the sealing the Charter, and might very well have been complied with” (the Reasons why the sealing the Charter was so long deferred are set down before), “ and could be no Reason to them to neglect the giving Direction in their own Concernments; but that They knew likewise, that the Day was enlarged to a Day desired by themselves, that there might be no Pretence for Discontent.” And thereupon the Order of the Court to that Purpose was read to his Majesty, and They could not deny it to be true.

In Conclusion, since it did appear that their Stock did in Truth still remain in the *Canaries*, and in Justice belonged to them, whether it was their Fault or their Misfortune that it had not been drawn over in Time, the King persuaded the Governour and his Assistants to give them such Satisfaction in that and other Particulars, that before They retired from his Majesty’s Presence They were unanimously agreed upon all their Pretences: And though some of the Lords, upon some Insinuations and Discourses which They had heard, had believed the Company to have been in the Wrong, They were now fully convinced of the contrary, and believed the Charter to be founded upon great Reason of State, and that the Execution of it had been very justifiable and with great Moderation. And it is to be observed, that the Parliament being then assembled at *Oxford*, there was not the least Complaint against that Charter or Corporation.

AND this was the whole Progress of that Affair, until it served some Men’s Turns to make it afterwards Matter of Reproach to the Chancellor, in a Time when He had too great a Weight of the King’s Displeasure upon him to defend himself from that and other Calumnies, which few Men thought him guilty of. And if the Motives of State were not of Weight enough to support the Patent, more ought

Who satisfies all Parties.

A Vindication of the Chancellor in this Affair.

not to be objected to him than to every other Counsellor, there having never been a more unanimous Concurrence at that Board in any Advice They have given: And the Delays He used in the passing the Charter after it came to his Hand, his giving so long Time for the making Objections against it, and his so positively opposing the Company with Reference to their being Freemen of the City, are no Signs that He had such a Mind to please them, as a Man would have who had been corrupted by them, or who was to have a Share in the Profit of the Patent, as was afterwards suggested; but never believed by any to whom He was in any Degree known, who knew well that He frequently refused to receive Money that He might very lawfully have done, and never took a Penny which He was obliged to refuse. He was indeed, as often as that Affair came to be debated, very clear in his Judgment for the King's granting it, and always continued of the same Opinion: Nor did He ever deny, that some Months after the Patent was sealed, the Governour made him a Present in the Name of the Corporation, as it is presumed He did to many other Officers through whose Hands it passed, and which was never refused by any of his Predecessors when it came from a Community upon the passing a Charter; which He never concealed from the King, who thought He might well do it. In the last Place it is to be remembered, that after all the Clamour against this Charter in Parliament, and upon the arguing against the Legality of it by eminent Lawyers before the House of Peers, it was so well supported by the King's Attorney General and other learned Lawyers, that the Lords would not give Judgment against it: But the Governour and the Corporation durst not dispute it farther with the House of Commons, but chose to surrender their Charter into the King's Hands.

THE *French* had their Ambassadour, *Monsieur Comminge*, remaining still in *England*, who pretended to be

be ready to finish still the Treaty of Commerce, but formalized so much upon every Article, though Nothing was demanded but what had been granted to 3) *Cromwell*, that it was concluded that He wanted Power, though Somewhat was imputed to the Capriciousness of his Nature, which made him hard to treat with, and not always vacant at the Hours himself assigned, being hypochondriack and seldom sleeping without Opium. As soon as the War ^{The French} was declared the King sent two other Ambassa- ^{send Ambassadors into} dours, whereof, for the Countenance and Splendour ^{England under} of it, the Duke of *Vernueil* was one, who being Un- ^{der Pretence of} cle to Both the Kings was received rather under that Relation than in the other Capacity, and was lodged and treated by the King during the whole Time of his Stay. With him came likewise *Monfieur Courtine*, a Master of Requests, and much the quickest Man of the three, and upon whose Parts and Address most of the Business depended. The former Ambassa- dour was joined in Commission with the other two; And their declared Business was to mediate a Peace between the King and the *Dutch*, when there had been yet little Harm done, only great Preparations made on Both Sides for the War; which They did not seem very solicitous to interrupt, but contented themselves with declaring at their first Audience, “that the King their Master out of Christianity, and
“to prevent the Effusion of Christian Blood, desired
“to mediate a Peace, which the *States of the United*
“*Provinces* were very willing He should do, and
“professed to have a very great Desire of Peace;
“which made his *Christian Majesty* hope that He
“should find the same good Inclinations here, and
“if He might be informed what his Majesty did re-
“quire or what would be grateful to him, He did
“not doubt but that He should persuade the *States*
“to submit to it.”

AND with this general Discourse, and without delivering any Memorial in Writing, the Ambassadors

acquiesced for many Months, as if their Business was only that the *Dutch* Ambassadour, who remained still in *London*, might know and send Word to his Masters that They had begun their Mediation. Otherwise They seemed in all their Discourses to make some Kind of Apology for being sent, implying "as if" "the extraordinary Importunity of the *Dutch* had" "prevailed with the King to undertake this Mediation, and which He did the rather, upon their" "Promise that They would yield to any Thing He" "should advise them; and He was very far from" "desiring that his Majesty might not receive ample" "Satisfaction in whatsoever He required." So that the King did not imagine, whatever Information He had received before, and whatever Jealousy He had entertained, that this Embassy would be concluded in the Denunciation of a War against him. Nor is it probable that the Ambassadors themselves at that Time knew that They were to perform that Office, though it was afterwards evident that the Matter had been long before resolved in *France*. They lived between the two Courts, for the Queen Mother was likewise at that Time at her Palace of *Somerset-House*, in much Jollity, and as vacant from any Affairs till They might receive new Orders from Court, but spending much Time with the *Dutch* Ambassadour, whom They persuaded "that They were very intent upon and had much advanced the Treaty," as appeared by the Ambassadour's Letters to the *Hague*.

*The Queen
Mother leaves
England.*

THE Plague increased so fast, that the Queen Mother, who had all the Winter complained of her Indisposition of Health, and declared that She would in the Summer go again into *France*, took that Occasion, albeit She was recovered to a very good State; and about the End of *July* removed and embarked for *France*, and took so many Things with her, that it was thought by many that She did not intend ever to return into *England*. Whatever her Intentions at that

that Time were, She never did see *England* again, though She lived many Years after.

- 54) IT was in *April* that the Duke went to Sea : And ^{*The Duke continually sends for Reinforcements.*} from the Day of his going thither with the Fleet Letters and Orders came from him to the Day of the Battle for an Addition of more Ships, upon Intelligence of an Increase of Strength added to the Enemy, though They yet lay still in the Harbours, whilst the Duke was upon their Coasts. But Mr. *Coventry* still made new Demands, and wrote to the Chancellor, "that whilst the King's Brother was at Sea and ventured his own Person, Nobody who wished him well would, for saving Money, hinder any Thing from being sent that his Highness thought necessary for his Defence : " And all Things were sent, though procured with wonderful Difficulty.

THE Treasurer had believed, when all the Provisions were delivered which had been demanded, and all Computations satisfied which had been made, and the Fleet at Sea, that there would have been no more Expence till its Return ; whereas every Day added new Expence which had not been thought of : And the requiring of more Ships was then believed, and more afterwards to proceed from the restless Spirit of Mr. *Coventry*, who cared not how much He increased the Expence, and was willing to put the Treasurer and all the King's Ministers to contend with all Difficulties, that He might reproach their Laziness or Want of Ability. But They did not gratify him in that, but all the Ships and whatever else was sent for were sent ; inasmuch as the Fleet amounted to no less than one hundred Sail, and was now retired for Want of Somewhat to do to our own Coast, where They resolved to attend the Motion of the Enemy : And in this Time most of the Volunteers, having endured the Unpleasantness of the Sea above a Month, begun to think that the War was not so necessary as They had thought it to be.

THE

THE Duke's Family that was numerous in his own Ship were not at Ease, and found less Respect from the Seamen than They had looked for: They grew into Factions between themselves, and the Earl of *Falmouth* and Mr. *Coventry* were Rivals who should have most Interest in the Duke, who loved the Earl best but thought the other the wiser Man, who supported *Pen* (who disoblged all the Courtiers) even against the Earl, who contemned *Pen* as a Fellow of no Sense, and not worthy of the Charge and Trust that was reposed in him. In this Discomposure and having Nothing to do, every Body grew angry at the Occasion that brought them thither, and wished for Peace.

THE Earl of *Falmouth*, as in a Time of Leisure, was sent by the Duke with Compliments to the King, and to give him an Account of the good State of the Fleet: He visited the Chancellor, to whom He had always paid great Respect and made many Professions; and He told him, "that They were all
"mad who had wished this War, and that himself
"had been made a Fool to contribute to it, but that
"his Eyes were open, and a Month's Experience at
"Sea had enough informed him of the great Ha-
"zards the King ran in it." He reproached *Pen*
"as a Sot, and a Fellow that He thought would be
"found without Courage." He told him, "that
"the King and the Duke too were Both inclined to
"Peace, and discerned that the Charge and Expence
"of the War would be insupportable;" and con-
cluded, "that as soon as this Action should be over,
"which could not be avoided many Days if the
"*Dutch* Fleet put to Sea, as it could not be doubted
"it would, it would be good Time to make a Peace,
"which He desired him to think of, and to speak
"with the King, whom He would find disposed to
"it:" And so He returned to the Fleet.

*The Dutch
Fleet puts out
to Sea under
Opdam,*

AND by that Time the *Dutch* were come out, and⁽¹⁶⁾
the next Day were in View. They were near of
equal

equal Number, and well manned, under the Command of *Opdam* the Admiral of the whole Fleet, upon whom the *States* had conferred that Charge, that the Prince of *Orange* his Party might conclude, that They never intended that He should have the Charges of his Father and Grandfather, and likewise to gratify the Nobility of *Holland*, that had a very small Share in the Government. And this Gentleman, who had never been at Sea before, and had but a small Fortune, was of that Number, and had joined with that Faction which was averse from the Family of *Orange*. The Fleets came within Sight of each other on the first of *June*, and had some Skirmishes which continued on the second, the Wind favouring neither Party, as willing to keep them asunder: But upon the third it served Both their Turns, and brought them as near each other as They could desire to be.

NOR did the *Dutch* seem to advance with less The first general Engagement. Courage and Resolution. *Opdam* the *Dutch* Admiral with his Squadron bore directly upon the Duke with a Resolution to board him: But before He came near enough, and very little before, whether by an Accident within his own Ship, or from a Grenado or other Shot out of the Duke's Ship, his Gun-Room took Fire, and in a Moment the Ship sunk without any Man being saved. The Vice-Admiral of the same Squadron, being a *Zealander*, pursued the same Resolution, and had boarded the Duke if Captain *Jeremy Smith*, a Captain of the Duke's Squadron, had not put himself between and boarded the Vice-Admiral, who was equally attacked by the Duke: And so that Ship was taken after most of the Men were killed; and the Captain himself was so wounded, that He only lived to be brought on Board the Duke's Ship, and to complain of his Companions "for not having seconded him according to an Oath They had taken on Board their Admiral the Day before," and died within Half an Hour to the

the great Trouble of the Duke, who gave him a great Testimony for a very gallant Man, and much desired to preserve him.

*The Dutch
are worsted.*

THE Fight continued all the Day with very great Loss of Men on all Sides, though after the first two Hours the *Dutch*, seeing many of their best Ships burned and more taken, did all that the Wind would give them Leave to separate themselves from the *English* Fleet, which pursued them so close, that They found They lost more by flying than by fighting, and did lessen their Sails to give some Stop to the Pursuit till the Night might favour them: And the Evening no sooner came, but They hoisted up all their Sails, and intended Nothing but their Escape.

WHEN there was no more to be done by the Approach of the Night, the Duke who was infinitely tired with the Labour of the Day, having lost above two hundred Men aboard his own Ship, whereof some were Persons of Quality, who stood next his own Person and shall be named anon, was prevailed with to repose himself after He had taken some Sustenance; which He did, after He had given the Master of the Ship, an honest and a skilful Seaman, direct and positive Charge “to bear up in that Manner upon the *Dutch* Fleet that He might lose no Ground, but find himself as near when the Day should appear, as He was then when He went to Sleep.” The Fleet had no Guide but the Lanthorn of the Admiral, and were not to outfail him of Course, and behaved themselves accordingly. But when the Duke arose and the Day appeared, the *Dutch* Fleet was out of View; and before He could reach them, They were got into their Ports or under the Shelter of their Flats, that it was not counsellable for the great Ships to pursue them farther: Yet some of those Ships which made not so much Way,⁽²⁾ or had not steered so directly, were taken by the lesser Ships that followed them. And the Duke had received so many Blows on his own and the other Ships, that

*The Remain-
der of their
Fleet escapes
by Night.*

it was necessary to retire into Port, where they might be repaired.

It was a Day of signal Triumph, the Action of it The great Loss of the Dutch. having much surpassed all that was done in *Cromwell's* Time, whose Navals were much greater than had ever been in any Age: But the *Dutch* had never then fought with so much Courage and Resolution; nor were their Ships then in Strength to be compared to the *English*, as *Van Trump* assured them, "and that except They built better Ships They would be as often beaten as They fought with the *English*." And from that Time They new-built all their Navy, and brought now with them as good Ships as any the King had: And the Men for some Hours behaved themselves well. In that Day the Duke sunk, burned, and took eighteen good Ships of War, whereof Half were of the best They had, with the Loss of one single small Ship, for there was no more missing of his whole Fleet. It is true the Number of the killed and wounded Men was very great, and was thought the greater, because in the great Massacre that was on the other Side there was no Man, except *Opdam* their Admiral, who had a Name. There were many excellent Officers killed and taken, Men of Courage and of great Experience in naval Affairs, and therefore an irreparable Damage to them; but They had grown up from common Seamen, and so were of no other Quality than every Mariner of the Fleet.

On the Part of the *English*, besides above two hundred Men that were killed on Board the Duke's own Ship, there fell the Earl of *Falmouth*, who hath been lately spoken of, and the Lord *Muskerry*, eldest Son to the Earl of *Clancarty*, a young Man of extraordinary Courage and Expectation, who had been Colonel of a Regiment of Foot in *Flanders* under the Duke, and had the general Estimation of an excellent Officer: He was of the Duke's Bedchamber, and the Earl and He were at that Time so near the Duke, that his Highness was all covered with their Blood. There fell

Mr. Richard Boyle.

fell likewise in the same Ship *Mr. Richard Boyle*, a younger Son of the Earl of *Burlington*, a Youth of great Hope, who came newly Home from Travel, where He had spent his Time with singular Advantage, and took the first Opportunity to lose his Life in the King's Service. There were many other Gentlemen Volunteers in the same Ship, who had the same Fate.

The Earl of Marlborough.

IN *Prince Rupert's* Ship, who did Wonders that Day, and in that of the Earl of *Sandwich*, who behaved him with notable Courage and Conduct, there were very many Men slain, and some Gentlemen Volunteers of the best Families whose Memories should be preserved. The Earl of *Marlborough*, who had the Command of one of the best Ships, and had a great Experience at Sea, having made many long Voyages at Sea, and being now newly returned from the *East-Indies*, whither the King had sent him with a Squadron of Ships to receive the Island of *Bombayne* from *Portugal*, was in this Battle likewise slain. He was a Man of wonderful Parts in all Kinds of Learning, which He took more Delight in than his Title; and having no great Estate descended to him, He brought down his Mind to his Fortune, and lived very retired, but with more Reputation than any Fortune could have given him. The Earl of *Portland* was a Volunteer on Board his Ship, and lost his Life by his Side, being a young Man of very good Parts, newly come of Age, and the Son of a very wise and worthy Father, who died few Months before: And He having a long and entire Friendship with the Earl of *Marlborough*, his Son, though of a melancholick Nature, intended to lead an active Life, and to apply himself to it under the Conduct of his Father's Friend, with whom He died very bravely.

The Earl of Portland.

And Sir John Lawson.

THERE was another almost irreparable Loss this Day in *Sir John Lawson*, who was Admiral of a Squadron, and of so eminent Skill and Conduct in all maritime Occasions, that his Counsel was most considered

in all Debates, and the greatest Seamen were ready to receive Advice from him. In the Middle of the Battle He received a Shot with a Musket-Bullet upon the Knee, with which He fell: And finding that He could no more stand and was in great Torment, He sent to the Duke to desire him to send another Man to command his Ship; which He presently did. The Wound was not conceived to be mortal; and They made Haste to send him on Shore, as far as *Deptford* or *Greenwich*, where for some Days there was Hope of his Recovery; but shortly his Wound gangrened, and so He died with very great Courage, and Profession of an entire Duty and Fidelity to the King.

HE was indeed of all the Men of that Time, and *His Character.* of that Extraction and Education, incomparably the modestest and wisest Man, and most worthy to be confided in. He was of *Yorkshire* near *Scarborough*, of that Rank of People who are bred to the Sea from their Cradle. And a young Man of that Profession He was, when the Parliament first possessed themselves of the Royal Navy; and *Hull* being in their Hands, all the Northern Seamen easily betook themselves to their Service: And his Industry and Sobriety made him quickly taken Notice of, and to be preferred from one Degree to another, till from a common Sailor He was promoted to be a Captain of a small Vessel, and from thence to the Command of the best Ships.

HE had been in all the Actions performed by *Blake*, some of which were very stupendous, and in all the Battles which *Cromwell* had fought with the *Dutch*, in which He was a signal Officer and very much valued by him. He was of that *Class* of Religion which were called *Independents*, most of which were *Anabaptists*, who were generally believed to have most Aversion to the King, and therefore employed in most Offices of Trust. He was Commander in Chief of the Fleet when *Richard* was thrown out: And when the Contest grew between the *Rump* and *Lambert*, He brought the whole Fleet into the River, and declared for that
which

which was called the Parliament; which brake the Neck of all other Designs, though He intended only the better Settlement of the *Commonwealth*.

WHEN the *Council of State* was settled between the Dissolution of the *Rump* and the calling the Parliament, They did not like the Temper of the Fleet, nor especially of *Lawson*, who under the Title of Vice-Admiral had the whole Command of the Fleet, which was very strong, and in which there were many Captains They liked well: Yet They durst not remove the Vice-Admiral, lest his Interest in the Seamen, which was very great, should give them new Trouble. The Expedient They resolved upon was to send Colonel *Mountague* as Admiral to command the Fleet, without removing *Lawson*, who continued still in his Command, and could not refuse to be commanded by *Mountague*, who had always been his superiour Officer, and who had likewise a great Interest in very many of the Officers and Seamen. Yet *Mountague*, who brought with him a firm Resolution to serve the King, which was well known to his Majesty, had no Confidence in *Lawson* till the Parliament had proclaimed the King: And when He brought the Fleet to *Schevelin* to receive the King, all Men looked upon the Vice-Admiral as a great *Anabaptist* and not fit to be trusted. But when the King and the Duke had conferred with him, They⁽²⁶¹⁾ liked him very well: And He was from Time to Time in the Command of Vice-Admiral in all the Fleets which were sent into the *Mediterranean*. Nor did any Man perform his Duty better: He caused all Persons, how well qualified soever, who He knew were affected to a Republick, to be dismissed from the Service, and brought very good Order into his own Ship, and frequented the Church-Prayers himself, and made all the Seamen do so. He was very remarkable in his Affection and Countenance towards all those who had faithfully served the King, and never commended any Body to the Duke to be preferred but such; and performed to his Death all that could be expected from a brave and an honest Man.

It looked like some Prefage that He had of his own Death, that before He went to Sea He came to the Treasurer and the Chancellor, to whom He had always borne much Respect, and spake to them in a Dialect He had never before used, for He was a very generous Man, and lived in his House decently and plentifully, and had never made any the least Suit or Pretence for Money. Now He told them, "that He
"was going upon an Expedition in which many honest Men must lose their Lives: And though He
"had no Apprehension of himself, but that God would
"protect him as He had often done in the same Occasions, yet He thought it became him against the
"the Worst to make his Condition known to them,
"and the rather, because He knew He was esteemed
"generally to be rich." He said, "in Truth He
"thought himself so some few Months since, when
"He was worth eight or nine thousand Pounds: But
"the Marriage of his Daughter to a young Gentleman
"in Quality and Fortune much above him (Mr. Richard Norton of Southwick in Hampshire, who had
"fallen in Love with her, and his Father out of Tenderness to his Son had consented to it) had obliged
"him to give her such a Portion as might in some
"Degree make her worthy of so great a Fortune;
"and that He had not reserved so much to himself and
"Wife, and all his other Children which were four
"or five, as He had given to that Daughter." He desired them therefore, "that if He should miscarry
"in this Enterprize, the King would give his Wife
"two hundred Pounds a Year for her Life; if He
"lived He desired Nothing, He hoped He should
"make some Provision for them by his own Industry:
"Nor did He desire any other Grant or Security for
"this two hundred Pounds yearly, than the King's
"Word and Promise, and that They would see it
"effectual." The Suit was so modest, and the Ground of making it so just and reasonable, that They willingly informed his Majesty of it, who as graciously
granted

granted it, and spake himself to him of it with very obliging Circumstances; so that the poor Man went very contentedly to his Work, and perished as gallantly in it with an universal Lamentation. And it is to be presumed that the Promise was as well performed to his Wife: Sure it is, it was exactly complied with whilst either of those two Persons had any Power.

*The King
greatly trou-
bled at the
Death of the
Earl of Fal-
mouth.*

THE Victory and Triumph of that Day was surely very great, and a just Argument of publick Joy: How it came to be no greater shall be said anon. And the Trouble and Grief in many noble Families, for the Loss of so many worthy and gallant Persons, could not but be very lamentable in Wives, in Fathers and Mothers, and the other nearest Relations: But no Sorrow was equal, at least none so remarkable, as the King's was for the Earl of *Falmouth*. They who knew his Majesty best, and had seen how unshaken He had stood in other very terrible Assaults, were amazed at the Flood of Tears He shed upon this Occasion. The Immenseness of the Victory, and the Consequences that might have attended it; the Safety and Preservation of his Brother with so much Glory, on whose Behalf He had had so terrible Apprehensions during the three Days Fight, having by the Benefit of the Wind heard the Thunder of the Ordnance from the Beginning, even after by the lessening of the Noise as from a greater Distance He concluded that the Enemy was upon Flight: Yet all this, and the universal Joy that He saw in the Countenance of all Men for the Victory and the Safety of the Duke, made no Impression in him towards the Mitigation of his Passion for the Loss of this young Favourite, in whom few other Men had ever observed any Virtue or Quality which They did not wish their best Friends without; and very many did believe that his Death was a great Ingredient and considerable Part of the Victory. He was young and of insatiable Ambition; and a little more Experience might have taught him all Things
which

which his weak Parts were capable of. But They who observed the strange Degree of Favour He had on the sudden arrived to, even from a Detestation the King had towards him, and concluded from thence, and more from the deep Sorrow the King was possessed with for his Death, to what a prodigious Height He might have reached in a little Time more, were not at all troubled that He was taken out of the Way.

THE Duke, after He had given Directions for the speedy repairing of the Fleet, and for the present sending out such Ships as could quickly be made ready to ride before the Coast of *Holland*, made Haste to present himself to the King, and to the Queen his Mother, who was ready to begin her Journey to *France*, and had stayed some Days to see the Success of the naval Fight, and afterwards to see the Duke; and within few Days after his Arrival her Majesty left the Kingdom.

AND now the Whisper began in the Duke's Family of the Reason, why the Victory after so great Advantages had not been pursued with that Vigour that might have made it more destructive to the Enemy than it proved to be. The Master of the Duke's Ship (Captain —) pursued his Orders very punctually after the Duke was gone to Sleep, and kept within a just Distance of the *Dutch* Fleet that remained in Order together, for many fled in Confusion and singly to that Part of the Coast that They thought They knew best; and many of them were taken. But the Duke was no sooner in Sleep, but Mr. *Brounker* of his Bed-chamber, who with wonderful Confusion had sustained the Terror of the Day, resolved to prevent the like on the Day succeeding. He first went to Sir *William Pen*, who commanded the Ship, and told him, "that He knew well how miraculously the Duke was preserved that Day, and that They ought not farther to tempt God;" wished him to remember, "that the Duke was not only the King's Brother but the Heir Apparent of the Crown, and what the Consequence

The Reason why the Victory was so far from being improved.

Vol. II. L 1 " would

“ would be if He should be lost. And therefore
 “ would concern him not to suffer the Duke’s know
 “ and notorious Courage to engage him in a new
 “ Danger, which He would infallibly be exposed to
 “ the next Morning, if They continued to make
 “ much Sail as They did, and to keep so near the
 “ *Dutch*, who fled, but if They were pressed and in
 “ Despair would fight as stoutly as They had done in
 “ the Beginning. And therefore He desired and ad-
 “ vised him to give the Master Order to slacken the
 “ Sails, that the *Dutch* might get what Ground They
 “ could, to avoid a farther Encounter.” *Per* an-
 swered him honestly, and told him, “ He durst give
 “ no such Orders except He had a Mind to be hanged
 “ for the Duke had himself given positive Charge to
 “ the contrary.”

Mr. *Brounker*, when He could not prevail there
 confidently went to the Master of the Ship, who was a
 honest and a stout Man, and carefully kept the Steer-
 age himself that He might be sure to observe the Or-
 der He had received from his Highness, and told him
 “ that it was the Duke’s Pleasure that He should slack-
 “ the Sails without taking Notice of it to any Man.”
 Whereupon the Master did as He was commanded
 making no Doubt that a Servant so near the Person of
 his Highness, and in so much Favour with him,
 would not have brought such an Order without due
 Authority.

AND by this Means the Remainder of the Fleet
 escaped, which otherwise would probably have been all
 taken : For it was afterwards known, that there was
 such a Confusion amongst the Officers, that Nobody
 would obey ; for though in Truth the Right of com-
 manding, according to the Course observed amongst
 them, after the Death of *Opdam* was in the Vice-Admi-
 ral of *Zealand*, yet, He being likewise killed, the others
 could not agree. But young *Trump* the Son of the old
 famous Admiral, who had behaved himself very brave-
 ly all the Day, challenged the Command in the Right
 of

of *Holland*; but *John Evertson of Zealand*, Brother to him that was killed, required it as his Right: Which begat so great an Animosity as well as Confusion amongst them, that the Morning, if They had been pursued, would in all Probability have proved as dismal to them as the Day before had done.

BUT the Duke never suspected this, nor did any presume to tell him of it, which made many Men presume that it was done with Privy of Mr. *Coventry*, not only for the great Friendship between him and *Brounker*, but because both *Pen* and the Master were so silent when the Duke was so much troubled the next Morning: Nor did the Duke come to hear of it till some Years after, when Mr. *Brounker's* ill Course of Life and his abominable Nature had rendered him so odious, that it was taken Notice of in Parliament, and upon Examination found to be true, as is here related; upon which He was expelled the House of Commons, whereof He was a Member, as an infamous Person, though his Friend *Coventry* adhered to him, and used many indirect Arts to have protected him, and afterwards procured him to have more Countenance from the King than most Men thought He deserved, being a Person throughout his whole Life never notorious for any Thing but the highest Degree of Impudence, and stooping to the most infamous Offices, and playing very well at Chefs, which preferred him more than the most virtuous Qualities could have done.

WITH this Victory a new vast Charge and Expence (beside the repairing the hurt Ships, Masts and Rigging, and fitting out new Ships of War, and buying more Fireships) appeared, that was never foreseen or brought into any Computation; which was a Provision for sick and wounded Men, which amounted to so great a Number upon all the Coast, that the Charge amounted in all Places, notwithstanding the general Charity of the People, and the Convenience that many Hospitals yielded, to above two thousand Pounds the Week for some Weeks, and though less afterwards by

the Death and Recovery of many, yet continued very great; besides the Charge of keeping the *Dutch* Prisoners, which were above two thousand, and every Day increased.

*The Queen
Mother pre-
vents the
Duke's going
to Sea again.*

THE Duke was very impatient to repair and set out the Fleet again to Sea, and resolved Nothing more than to go in Person again to command it, his Family remaining still on Board, and preparing such Things as were wanting for his Accommodation: But the Queen Mother had prevailed with the King at⁽²⁷⁾ parting to promise her, "that the Duke should not go again in Person in that Expedition;" which was concealed from the Duke, his Majesty believing that the Confidence of his Royal Highness's going contributed very much to the setting out the Fleet, as it did so much, that but for that, it had been impossible to have procured so much Money as was with infinite Difficulty procured, to satisfy the Expenses of so many Kinds, whereof many had been unthought of. And towards this there was a Benefit that flowed from a Fountain of extreme Misery, which was the Increase of the Plague, which spread so fast that the King's staying so long in Town was very dangerous. Yet the Approach of this great Calamity, that in other Respects produced great Mischiefs, advanced the present Enterprise: For all People who had Money knew not what to do with it, not daring to leave it in their Houses where They durst not stay themselves; so that They willingly put it into the Bankers Hands, who supplied the King upon such Assignations as the late Act of Parliament and other Branches of the King's Revenue would yet bear.

*The French
Ambassadors
neglect an
Opportunity of
making Peace.*

AND if at this Time the *French* Ambassadors had pursued their Office of Mediation, it is very probable that it might have been with Success. For besides the great Loss the *Dutch* had received in the Battle and in their being deprived of so many of the Merchants Ships, the Factions were irreconcilable in the Fleet: There were many Officers who had behaved themselves very
basely

basely and cowardly in the Action, but They knew not how to punish them; *Everison* and *Trump*, who were their best Seamen, would not submit to be commanded by each other; the People were ready to rise upon *De Wit*, upon whom They looked as the Occasion of the War, and cried aloud for Peace. And the Faction amongst the *States* themselves was very visible: All the other complained bitterly against the Province of *Holland*, "which," They said, "had engaged them in a War against their Will and without their Privy, which was directly contrary to the Form and Constitution of their Government." In a Word, Peace was universally desired and prayed for; and in the Opinion of all Men, any reasonable Conditions would at that Time have been yielded to. And as the People of *England* generally had not been pleased with the beginning the War, so the Court was weary of it; and the King would have been willing to have received any good Overtures for the composing it, and the Duke, since He was kept from bearing a Part in it, would not have opposed it. But the Ambassadors pressed no such Matter, but congratulated the Victory with the same Joy They found in the Court, and seemed to think that any Misfortune that could befall the *Dutch* would be but a just Punishment for their Pride and Insolence towards all their neighbour Princes: The two Nations had not yet worried themselves enough, entirely to submit to the Arbitration of *France*; which it resolved They should do.

WITHIN less than a Month the Fleet was again prepared and ready for the Sea, as strong and in as good a Condition as it had been before the Battle; and the King and the Duke went thither, the Duke making no Doubt of putting his Person on Board. And the King at that Time resolved that Prince *Rupert* and the Earl of *Sandwich* should have the joint Command of it: In order to which Prince *Rupert* was prepared, of whose easy Concurrence only there was some Doubt, his Majesty promising himself all Conformity and Resigna-

tion from the Earl of *Sandwich*; which He met with in Both, for the Prince very cheerfully submitted to his Majesty's Pleasure. In the Journey the King acquainted his Brother with his Resolution, and the Promise He had made to the Queen their Mother; with which the Duke was much troubled, and offered⁽³⁷²⁾ many Reasons to divert his Majesty from laying his Command upon him: But when He found there was no Remedy, He submitted, and gave Orders for disembarking his Family and Goods.

BUT when this was communicated to Mr. *Coventry*, who was to prepare such Commissions and Warrants as upon this Alteration of Counsels were necessary, He persuaded the Duke, and prevailed with him to believe, "that it would be much better to commit the sole Command of the Fleet to the Earl of *Sandwich*, than to join Prince *Rupert* in it with him," who, for no other Reason but for not esteeming him at the Rate He valued himself, had been long in his Disfavour. He suggested some Defects in the Prince, which Nobody could absolve him from, and which the gentle Temper of the Earl of *Sandwich*, who knew him as well as the other, could have complied with: And many thought it would have in the Conjunction produced a very good Mixture, the Danger from the Prince being too sudden Resolutions from too much Heat and Passion, and the Earl having enough of Phlegm and Wariness in deliberating, and much Vigour in the executing what was concluded; and They were Both well prepared and inclined to perform the Function.

BUT Mr. *Coventry's* Advice prevailed both with the Duke and King: And so in the Instant that the King and Duke were to return from the Fleet that was ready to set Sail with the first fair Wind, and not till then, the King told Prince *Rupert*, without enlarging upon the Reasons, "that He would have him to return with him to London, and accompany him this Summer, and that the Earl of *Sandwich* should have the sole Command of the Fleet;" with which the Prince was wonder-
fully

fully surpris'd and perplexed and even heart-broken, but there was no contending. He stay'd behind the King only till He could get his Goods and Family disembarked, and then returned with very much Trouble to the Court: And the Earl of *Sandwich* set Sail with the Fleet, with Direction first to visit the Coast of *Holland*, and if He found that the Dutch Fleet was not ready to come out, that He should go to the Northward to watch the *East-India* Fleet, which had Orders from their Superiours to come by the *North*, that They might avoid the *English* Fleet, that was Master of the Sea.

The Fleet puts out to Sea under the Earl of Sandwich.

It was in the End of *June* or Beginning of *July* that the King and Duke returned from the Fleet; and within few Days after, it set Sail: When the Plague increased so fast, that there died about two thousand in a Week; so that all Men cried out against the King's staying so long at *Whitehall*, the Sickneſs being already in *Westminster*. Whereupon the King, after He had taken the best Care He could with the Lord Mayor for the good ordering the City, and published ſuch Orders as were thought neceſſary for the Relief and Regulation of infected Perſons, and prevailed with ſome Juſtices of the Peace in the *Strand* and in *Westminster* to promiſe to reſide there (which They were the more eaſily perſuaded to do by the General's declaring that He would ſtay in his Lodgings at *Whitehall*, which He did during the whole Time of the Peſtilence; and the Lord *Craven* out of Friendſhip to him ſtayed likewiſe in his Houſe in *Drury-Lane*: And it cannot be denied that the Preſence of thoſe two great Perſons prevented many Miſchiefs which would have fallen out by the Diſorder of the People, and was of great Convenience and Benefit to that End of the Town): I ſay, when the King had ſettled all this He removed to *Hampton*, reſolving there to conſider how to diſpoſe of himſelf for the Remainder of the Summer: And becauſe there were many Particulars ſtill unreſolved concerning the Buſineſs of *Ireland*, his Maſteſty
for

The King removes to Hampton-Court on Account of the Plague.

for some Days appointed that numerous People, that⁽¹⁷⁷⁾ They might have no Pretence to come to *Hampton-Court*, to attend at *Sion*; where for many Days together his Majesty spent many Hours, till He had composed that Affair as well as it was for the present capable of.

THE Plague still increased at *London*, and spread about the Country; so that it was not thought safe for the Court to remain longer where it then was, the Sickness being already in some of the adjacent Villages. Whereupon the King resolved that his own Family and his Brother's should remove to *Salisbury*, and spend the Summer there. And because it was already in View, that it would not be fit for the Parliament to assemble again at *Westminster* in *September*, to which Time it was prorogued, nor could it be computed at what Time it could be safe to meet in that Place; and it was as notorious that if the Parliament met not somewhere, whereby the King might have another Supply before the Winter, there would be very great Confusion for Want of Money: He caused therefore a Proclamation to issue out, "that He intended to adjourn the Parliament to meet at *Oxford* upon the tenth of *October* next, "and that the Members need not to attend at *Westminster* in *September*." And then He directed the Speaker of the House of Commons, who lived within Half a Day of *London*, and the General and the Lord *Craven*, to give Notice to the Members of Both Houses, who lived within that Distance, to be present in Both Houses at the Day to which They were prorogued, and then to adjourn to *Oxford* according to the Proclamation. And this being settled, his Majesty appointed a Day for beginning his Progress from *Hampton-Court* to *Salisbury*; against which Time all Carriages and whatsoever was necessary for the Journey were prepared.

IN the Morning, when every Body believed that the King and Queen and Duke and Dutcheſs, with
Both

*The Parlia-
ment adjourn-
ed to Oxford.*

Both their Families, were to go together one Way, Mr. *Coventry* found a Way to break that Resolution, having no Mind to be in so great a Court that his Greatness would not appear. He told the Duke, "that there were general Discontents throughout the Kingdom;" which was true, "and a Probability of Insurrections," which were much spoken of and apprehended; "and therefore it might be better that the King and the Duke might not be together, but in several Places, that They might draw what Forces were necessary to them, which the Presence of their own Persons would easily do: That the Fleet would probably be all the Summer upon the Northern Coast in Expectation of the *Dutch East-India Fleet*;" for it was not then thought that the *Hollanders* would have been able to have let out another Fleet able to have encountered ours. Upon the whole Matter He proposed to him, "that since the King meant to spend the Summer in the *West*, with which there could very hardly be any Correspondence from the Fleet, his Highness should go into the *North* and reside at *York*; by which He would have an Influence upon all those Parts where the most disaffected Persons were most inhabitant, and from *Hull* and those maritime Parts He could not be long without receiving some Intelligence from the Fleet."

THE Truth is; the Constitution of the Court at this Time was such, the Prevalence of the Lady so great, and the Queen's Humour thereupon so inconstant, and all together so discomposed the King, that there was no Pleasure in being a Part of it: And therefore the Advice was as soon embraced, as given, by the Duke and his Wife, who were well content to enjoy themselves in their own Family apart. And the Duke presently proposed it to the King, and Mr. *Coventry* discoursed all the Motives to him so fully that his Majesty approved it. And then, if it were to be done at all, the first attending

Mr. W. Coventry persuades the Duke to spend the Summer at York.

*The King re-
moves to
Salisbury.*

tending the King to *Salisbury*, which was so much out of the Way, would be to no Purpose: And therefore it was resolved (all the Coaches and Carriages being then at the Doors to go to *Farnbam*, which was the first Day's Journey towards *Salisbury*), that the King and his Brother would part upon the Place, and that the King and Queen should continue their Purpose for *Farnbam*, and the Duke and his Wife should go that Night to *St. Albans*, and so prosecute his Journey for *York*; and all Orders were in the Instant given out to this Purpose.

WHETHER the Reasons of this Counsel were of Importance or not, the Alteration on such a sudden from what had been before determined was thought very strange, and wondered at, and made many believe that some Accident was fallen out that must not be discovered: For on the sudden it was, there having been no such Thought Overnight, when the Chancellor left the Court to go to his own House at *Twickenbam*. And when He returned the next Morning, the Resolution was taken, and every Body well pleased with the Change, and both the King and the Duke told him with Satisfaction of it; nor did He understand it enough to make Objections against it, which would have been ingrateful; nor was it convenient to spend longer Time in Deliberation at that Place, where some of the inferiour Servants had died the Night before of the Plague: And so They all entered upon their Journey by Nine of the Clock the same Morning.

*The Bishop of
Munster en-
gages to in-
vade the
United Pro-
vinces.*

IT is necessary in this Place to remember, that the Express, that had been sent by the Bishop of *Munster's* Agent with the Conditions which were offered by the King, returned with great Expedition, and brought the Bishop's Acceptation and Engagement, "that, upon the Payment of the first Sum "that was agreed upon, He would draw his Army "together, and march with an Army of twenty "thousand Horse and Foot into the *States Domi-*
"nions."

"nions." And the King before He left *London* had signed the Treaty, and made the first Payment, and provided for the second: So that He now expected that the Bishop should be shortly upon his March, and fix his Winter-Quarters in those *Provinces*; which He did resolve and intend with Courage and Sincerity, and which in that Conjuncture must have put the Counsels of *Holland* into great Confusion, when they began to be again reduced into some Order.

THE indefatigable Industry and Dexterity of the Pensionary *De Wit* prevailed with the *States* to believe, "that He thought a Peace to be necessary for their Affairs, and desired Nothing but that it might be upon honourable and safe Conditions, and that *France* was very real in the endeavouring it: But that the Enemy was so insolent upon their late Success, that They neglected all Overtures, and believed that the Factions and Divisions amongst themselves would hinder them from being able to set out another Fleet; and therefore that ought to be the first Design: And if their Fleet were ready to go out, He doubted not but a Peace would quickly follow: For that *France* was engaged, if the King should not consent to what is just and reasonable, to declare a War against *England*, and to assist them with Men and Money, and all his own naval Power, which the Duke of *Beaufort* was then preparing and making ready in all the Ports of *France*. But that it was not to be expected that They would send out their Fleet, which was much inferiour to the *English*, except They first saw a *Dutch* Fleet at Sea ready to join with them." He wished them to consider "how much They were all concerned in their *India* Ships, which were in their Voyage, and could not be far from their Coasts in a short Time; all which would inevitably fall into the Hands of the *English*, if They had no Fleet at Sea to relieve them."

De Wit persuades the Dutch to prepare another Fleet.

THESE Reasons, of Weight in themselves, and the Concernment of most of them in the Preservation of the *Indian Ships*, prevailed with them to do all that could be done to set out a new Fleet: And to that Purpose They sent very strict and severe Orders to their several Admiralties, for the proceeding against all, without Distinction of Persons, who had misbehaved themselves in the late Battle, and to provide new Ships and all necessary Provisions, to the End that their Fleet might be at Sea by a Time. And this grew the more easy to them, by the seasonable Return of *De Ruyter* with his Fleet from *Guinea*, which brought a present Addition of good Strength; and He had began the War upon the *Englisb*, and was the best Sea-Officer They had, and had exercised those Commands that no other Officer could refuse to obey him.

*The Dutch
make a Refor-
mation in their
Navy.*

FOR the speedy carrying on these present Preparations, They made, according to their usual Custom in extraordinary Occurrences, Committees of the *States* to assist in the Admiralties of *Zealand*, *Amsterdam*, and *Rotterdam*: and to that Purpose *De Wit*, and such other as He thought fittest at this Time to join with him, were appointed. They went first to the Fleet to reform the Disorders there: And though They durst not proceed with that Severity as had been fit, yet They cashiered many Captains and other Officers, and put some other Marks of Disgrace upon others, and caused one or two to die.

*De Wit's
Malice against
Van Trump.*

BUT that which *De Wit's* Heart was most set upon was to take Revenge upon *Van Trump*, and to remove him from ever having any Command at Sea: For though He was an excellent Officer, and upon the Stock of his Father's Credit of great Estimation with the Seamen, and inferiour to no Man but *De Ruyter*, and had behaved himself in the Battle with signal Courage; yet his Dispute with *Everison* upon Command had brought much Prejudice to them. But that which was worst of all and incensed *De Wit* implacably was, that He

He was of entire Devotion to the Prince of *Orange*, as his Father had always been and all his Children continued to be, and He knew well had an especial Part, how covertly soever, in fomenting the Murmurs of the People against him and the War: And He resolved to take this Opportunity of the good Temper the *States* were in in their Concurrence for the setting out the Fleet, not only to provide for the better Government of their Ships and marine Conduct, but to punish and prevent the Murmurs at Land, by removing all those out of any Power whom He suspected to have secretly contributed to them. He did all He could to make *Van Trump's* Offence capital, as if the Right of Command had been so clear in *Everison* that the other could not dispute it: But *Van Trump* defended himself so well and had so many Friends, that He was absolved from that Guilt. Yet for some passionate and indiscreet Words, in which He did naturally abound, He was deprived of his Command, with a Declaration "that "He should no more be employed in the Service of "the *States*;" which whilst the Government was in those Hands He cared not for, and had a good Estate to subsist without it. And so for the present all Differences were composed so far, as to have a general Concurrence in whatsoever was necessary, and in order to the making ready and setting out their Fleet to Sea.

THE King had been few Days at *Salisbury* before the *French* and *Spanish* Ambassadors arrived there, and then They made some Instance with the King, that there might be a Treaty for Peace; and the *French* Ambassadors declared, "that the King their Master "was so far engaged by Treaty with the *Dutch*, that "if the King would not accept of a just and an honourable Peace, his Majesty must declare himself on "their Behalf, which He was unwilling to do." The King answered, "that if there were any such Engagement He had not been well dealt with; for that the "*French* King had given his Word to him, *that He* "would

The French Ambassadors seem to press of mediating a Peace.

“*would not enter into any Treaty with the Dutch but pari passu with his Majesty*” (and when his Majesty had been informed that there was some Treaty concluded with them, He was assured from *France* “that it was only a Treaty of Commerce, which He had been obliged to enter into to prevent an Edict in *Holland*, by which strong Waters and other *French* Commodities would have been inhibited to be brought into those *Provinces*, but that there was Nothing in that Treaty that could be to his Majesty’s Prejudice”): That his Majesty had been always ready to embrace Peace, which had been never yet offered by the *Dutch*, nor did He know what Conditions They “expected.”

THE Ambassadors seemed to be much offended with the insolent Behaviour of the *Dutch*; and confessed “that They were not solicitous for Peace, but only desired to engage the King their Master in the War: But that if his Majesty would make his Demands, which They presumed would be reasonable, the other should be brought to consent to them.” To which the King replied, “that They had begun the War upon him and not He upon them, and that God had hitherto given him the Advantage, which He hoped He should improve; and till They were as desirous of Peace as He, it would not become him to make any Propositions.” And in this Manner that Affair stood whilst the Court remained at *Salisbury*.

AND there now fell out an unexpected Accident, which looked as if Providence had been inclined to repair the Mischief and the Damage that the Plague had produced to the Affairs of the King. It hath been mentioned before, that upon the first Thoughts of a War with the *Dutch*, the King had sent Mr. *Henry Coventry* to *Sweden*, and Sir *Gilbert Talbot* to *Denmark*, to engage those Crowns as far as might be on his Majesty’s Behalf, Both of them being enough disobliged and provoked by the *Dutch*.

MR.

MR. *Coventry* in *Sweden* found a frank and open Reception, avowing a hearty Affection to the King, and an Inclination to join in any Thing that might not be destructive to their own Affairs: Nor did They disseminate the Injuries They had received from the *Hollander* even to the *Dutch* Ambassadour himself, who was at the same Time sent thither to unite that Crown to their Interest, to which Purpose He had made several specious Overtures. Nor did They conceal the Jealousy They had of the *French*, who had not complied with the Payment of the yearly Sum of Money which They were obliged to make to them for the Support of their Army, of which They were in a great Arrear, that discomposed their Affairs very much. And though *M. Pomponne*, who had been long Resident in that Court as an Envoy, was now come thither as Ambassadour from *France*, and brought with him a good Sum of Money to retain them fast to their Dependence upon them; yet the Money was not Half that was due to them, and They well knew what dark Ends it was for: And They did exceedingly fear the Omnipotence of *France*.

THERE were two Things, which kept them from a full Declaration on the King's Behalf, and engaging presently in his Interest. The first was the Apprehension that They had of *Denmark*, that it would take this Opportunity to unite themselves more firmly to the *Hollander*, and so attempt to deprive *Sweden* of all their late Conquest, which was confirmed to them by their own Treaty of *Copenhagen*, which They were resolved never to part from: And in this Particular They were to expect some Satisfaction and Security from the Negotiation of Sir *Gilbert Talbot*. The other was, that They might see the Bishop of *Munster* full engaged, upon whose Expedition They had much Expectation. And Mr. *Coventry* had informed them of that whole Agreement, which would have given them Opportunity to have prosecuted their own Design upon *Bremen*, to which their Hearts were most devoted.

*And of Sir
Gilbert Tal-
bot's to Den-
mark.*

SIR *Gilbert Talbot* had been as well received in *Denmark*, with all the Professions imaginable of Affection to the King, and of their Detestation of the *Dutch*, who in Truth had exercised a strange Tyranny over them by the Advantage of their Necessities; nor is the Injustice, Oppression and Indignities which They had sustained from them to be expressed and described, without entering into a large Discourse of Particulars which are foreign to this Relation: Let it suffice, that there needed few Arguments to persuade that King to any Thing that was within his Power, and which would have done signal Mischief to the *Dutch*. But the Truth is, the Kingdom was very poor, the People unwarlike, the King himself very good and very weak, jealous of all the great Men, and not yet recovered of the Fright that *Wolfelt* had put him into. His chief Minister, one *Gabell*, had gotten his Credit by having been his Barber, an illiterate and unbred Man, yet his sole Confident in his Business of greatest Trust; which made all the Persons of Quality in the Kingdom, who are as proud of their Nobility as any Nation, full of Indignation. And They were able to cross many Resolutions after they were taken, though They could not establish others in the Place; which made the King very irresolute and unfixed: So that what was concluded To-day was reversed or not pursued To-morrow. They professed a great Jealousy of the *Swede*, as the greatest Argument, but their Weakness, against a War with the *Dutch*; yet were not willing to propose any Expedients which might secure them against those Jealousies. And the King absolutely denied that He had ever given *Hannibal* Zested Authority to declare, "that He would again confirm the Treaty He "had made;" and seemed to take it unkindly that his Majesty should think it reasonable, who therefore thought it so, because it was proposed by himself, and because He still confessed, "that He could make no Attempt to "recover what He had parted with." That which He did unreasonably design, in all the Disguises which were

were put on, was to engage the King to endeavour to persuade the *Swede* to give up and restore *Elfenore* and the other Places to *Denmark*, or to assist him with Force for the Recovery of them when there should be a Peace concluded with *Holland*: So that the King despaired of any Good from that Negotiation, and resolved shortly to recall his Minister from thence.

BUT there was on a sudden a Change to Wonder. *Gabell* came early in a Morning to Sir *Gilbert Talbot*, and told him, "his Master was now resolved to unite his Interest entirely to that of the King of *England*, having now an Opportunity to do it securely to Both their Benefits." He told him, "that there were Letters arrived that Night from *Bergen*, with News A particular Account of the Attempt upon the Dutch at Bergen. that the *Dutch East-India* Ships were all arrived in that Port with Orders to remain there till They received new Orders from *Holland*, which They should have as soon as their Fleet should be ready to join with them. This had disposed the King to resolve to give the King of *England* Opportunity to possess himself of all that Treasure, out of which He presumed He would allow him such a Share, as might enable him to declare, and assist his Majesty vigorously in his War against the *Dutch*. That if He 78) gave speedy Notice to the King's Fleet, which every Body knew was then at Sea, it might easily go to *Bergen*, where They might as easily surprise all those Ships in the Port, since They should receive no Opposition from the Castles under whose Protection they lay."

AND when He had done his Relation, He offered him to go with him to the King, that He might receive the Obligation from himself; which Sir *Gilbert Talbot* presently did, and found his Majesty as cheerful in the Resolution as *Gabell* had been. He repeated all that the other had said, and more particularly "that He thought it reasonable that He might expect Half of the Value that the Whole would amount to; which He would rely upon the King's Honour and Justice

“for, after the Ships should be in *England*, that He might not be suspected by the *Hollander*, for He would protest against the Act as a Violence that He could not resist: And that He would expect so many of his Majesty’s Ships to arrive in *Denmark*, and to assist him, before He positively declared against the *Dutch*.” He wished Sir *Gilbert Talbot* “to send an Express forthwith to the King with all these Particulars;” which He did the next Day.

THIS Express arrived within few Days after the King came to *Salisbury*, and was dispatched presently back again with Letters to the King of *Denmark* of his Majesty’s Consent and Ratification of all that He had proposed, and with Letters likewise to the Earl of *Sandwich*, who according to his former Orders had sailed Northward in Hope to meet with that Fleet, which was before got into *Norway*. The King’s Letters to him came in a very good Season, and He immediately continued his Course for *Norway*: And when He came to that Length, and near enough to that Land of Rocks which are terrible to all Seamen, He thought it best to remain at Sea with his Fleet, lest *De Ruyter* might by this Time be come out with his Fleet (since his being come Northward could not be concealed, nor the Arrival of the *East-India* Fleet at *Bergen*; which would hasten the other), and sent in a Squadron of fifteen or sixteen good Ships (of Strength sufficient for the Business) into the Harbour of *Bergen* with a Letter to the Governour. And with it He sent a Gentleman that was a Volunteer on Board him, who hath been often mentioned before, Mr. *Clifford*, the Confident of the Lord *Arlington*, who was well instructed in all the Transactions which had been at *Copenhagen*. Before They went into the Harbour, Mr. *Clifford* and another Gentleman or two went by Boat to the Town, where He found all the *Dutch* Ships (about a Dozen in Number) riding very near the Shore, and all under the Protection of the Castle, into which They had put much of their richest Lading from the Time
of

of their first coming thither, as to a Place of unquestionable Security.

THE Governour was not surpris'd with the Messengers or the Letter, as appeared by the Reception of Both, but seem'd troubled that They were come so soon, before the Manner of performing the Action was enough adjusted: He could not deny but "that He had received "Orders from *Copenhagen*; but that He expected more "perfect Directions within four and twenty Hours, "and expected likewise the Presence of the Vice-King "of *Norway*, who was his superiour Officer, and would "infallibly be there the next Day." The Behaviour of the Man was such as made them believe it sincere, as in Truth it was, for He meant well, and was content that the Ships, which though they were not come into the Port did not ride safe amongst the Rocks, should come into the Port upon Assurance that They would not attempt any hostile Act without his Consent, which was till all Things should be agreed 19) between them: And so the Fleet enter'd; which the *Dutch* perceived with great Consternation, yet changed the Posture of some of their Ships, and new-moored the rest, and put themselves upon their Defence.

IT is a Port like no other that the World knows, a very great Number of formidable Rocks, between each of which the Sea runs deep enough for the greatest Ships to ride securely; so that the Ships were as in so many Chambers apart between the Rocks: And the *Dutch*, which came thither first, had possessed themselves of that Line of the Sea that lay next to the Shore, to which They lay so near that They could descend from their Vessels on Land; which had been much the better for the Enterprize, if the *Dane* had concurred in it.

IT was so late before the *English* Ships had taken their Places, which was as near the *Dutch* as the Rocks would permit, that they remained quiet all Night, which was spent in Consultation between the Commander in Chief of the *English* Ships (who was a stout

and a good Officer but a rough Man, who knew better how to follow his Instructions than to debate the Ground of them; but He was advised by Mr. Clifford and conformed to his Judgment) and the Governour of the Town and Castle, who seemed still inclined not only to suffer the *English* to do what They would, but to be willing to act a Part in it himself from the Shore, and to expect hourly Orders to that Purpose, as likewise the Arrival of the Vice-King, whose Authority was more equal to that Attempt, and who was a Man well known to have a particular Reverence for the King, and as particular a Prejudice and Animosity against the *Dutch*. The Night being over, the Governour continued all the next Day as desirous and importunate that the Enterprize might be longer deferred; upon which there were some cholerick Words between the Governour and a Gentleman of Quality who was a Volunteer on Board the Ships, which many thought in some Degree irreconciled the Governour to the Affair.

IN Conclusion: The Commander of the Squadron was willing to think that the Governour had rather it should be done without his declared Consent than by it, and so told him, "that the next Morning He was resolved to weigh his Anchors and to fall upon the *Dutch*;" to which the other made such a Reply as confirmed him in his former Imagination. And in the Morning the Ships were brought out of their several Channels, and placed as near the Sides of the *Dutch* as they could be, from whence They resolved to board them as soon as They had sent their Broad-sides upon them. But They found that the *Dutch* had spent their Time well; for in the two Days and two Nights that the *English* had been in the Harbour, besides the unlading the richest of their Commodities that were left into the Castle, They had drawn all their Ordnance which lay on that Side of the Ships which was to the Shore, on Land, and planted them upon a rising Ground, that They could shoot over their
their

their own Ships upon the *English*: And a Breastwork was cast up, behind which all the Inhabitants of the Town were in Arms.

It was a fair Warning, and might very well have persuaded our Men to be glad to retire out of the Harbour, which yet They might have done: But their Courage or their Anger disposed them to make farther Trial of the Governour, for They feared not the Ordinance from the Land which the *Dutch* had planted, nor the Muskets from the Breastworks, if the Castle did them no Harm, under the Power of which They all were. And so They fell upon their Work: And in some Time, and with the Loss of many Men from the Ships and from the Land, They had dismounted many of 20) the Ordinance upon the Shore, and were even ready to board the Ships; when out of absurd Rage or Accident a Ship or two of the *English* discharged some Guns both upon the Breastworks, from whence They had received no Prejudice, and upon the Town, which beat down some Houses. But then all the Muskets from the Breastworks were poured out, and Guns from the Castle, which killed very many common Men, and five or six Officers of very good Account, and some Gentlemen Volunteers, amongst which was *Edward Mountague*, eldest Son to the Lord *Mountague* of *Boughton* and Cousin German to the Earl of *Sandwich*, a proper Man and wellbred but not easy to be pleased, and who was then withdrawn from the Court, where He was Master of the Horse to the Queen, and in some Discontent had put himself on Board the Fleet with a Captain, without the Privity of the Earl of *Sandwich*, and was now slain. There was now no farther Experiment to be made, but how They could get to Sea, which might easily have been prevented from the Shore and from the Rocks: But from the Minute that They prepared to be gone and gave over shooting, there was no more done against them, and They had Pilots from the Country that carried them safe out.

nour had undertaken to keep the *Dutch* Ships there for the Space of six Weeks, for They desired to see the Success of another Engagement between the two Fleets; the Earl steered that Way with his Fleet that most probably might bring him and *De Ruyter* together, which above all Things He desired.

*The Author's
Reflections
upon this Af-
fair,*

THIS whole Affair of *Bergen* and the Managery thereof was so perplexed and intricate, that it was never clearly understood. That which seemed to have most Probability was, that as soon as the *Dutch* Fleet came to *Bergen* They had unladen many of their richest Commodities and put them into the Castle, before the Governour had received his Orders from *Copenhagen*: And so both his own and his Master's Faith and Honour were engaged to discharge the Trust, of which He made Haste to send an Account to the King, and thereupon expected new Directions, which were not arrived when the *English* Fleet came thither. And when they did come, whether that Court according to its Custom did change its Mind, and believe They should make a better Bargain by keeping what was already deposited in their Hands in the Castle, than by making an uncertain Division with the King; or whether They did in Truth continue firm to the first Agreement, and that the Messenger was stopped by extraordinary Accidents in his Journey (which was positively alleged), so that He did not arrive in Time; or whether the Governour was not able to master the Town that was much inclined to the *Hollanders*, before the Vice-King came with his Troops, who did make all possible Haste as soon as He heard that the *English* were arrived; or whether the *English* did proceed more unadvisedly and rashly than They ought to have done; remains still in the Dark: And Both Parties reproached each other afterwards, as They found most necessary for their several Defences and Pretences; of which more hereafter.

*The King and
the Court re-
solved to Ox-
ford,*

THE King stayed not altogether so long at *Salisbury* as He had intended to have done: For besides a little

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accidental Indisposition which made him dislike the Air, some inferiour Servants and their Wives came from *London* or the Villages adjacent, and brought the Plague with them; so that the Court removed to *Oxford* before the End of *September*, the Parliament being to assemble there on the tenth of the next ¹²⁾Month. And before He left *Salisbury*, his Majesty sent an Express to *York* to his Brother, "that He "would meet him as soon as He could." The Duke had lived in great Lustre in *York* all that Summer, with the very great Respect and continual Attendance of all the Persons of Quality of that large County: And the Duke no sooner received his Majesty's Summons than He took Post, and left his Wife and Family to follow by ordinary Journeys, and himself came to *Oxford* the next Day after the King, where there were indeed Matters of the highest Importance to be consulted and resolved.

THE King had sent Mr. *Clifford* to *Denmark* to be satisfied, upon Conference with Sir *Gilbert Talbot*, concerning the Miscarriage at *Bergen*, and if the Ships remained still there according to the Promise the Vice-King had made, and if that King were ready to perform what He had undertaken, that all Particulars might be so adjusted that there might be no farther Mistake; and if He found that the Jealousy of *Sweden* was a real Obstruction to that Alliance, that He should make a Journey to *Sweden*, and upon Conference with Mr. *Coventry*, who by his Dexterity and very good Parts had reconciled the Affections of that Court to a very great Esteem of him, endeavour to remove all those Obstructions: And as soon as his Majesty should receive full Information of that whole Affair, He must consider what He was to do to vindicate himself in that Business of *Bergen*; for He knew well that He must suffer with all the World, for violating the Peace of a Port that was under the Government of a neighbour Prince with whom He was allied, if He did not make it appear that He had the Consent
of

of that Prince, which He was not willing to do till He first knew what that King would do.

*A farther
Negotiation
with the
French Am-
bassadors.*

IN the next Place his Majesty was to resolve what Answer to make to the *French* Ambassadors, who now desired frequent Audiences, and positively declared, “that their Master was engaged by his Treaty with “the *Dutch*, that in Case They were invaded or assaulted by any Prince, He would assist them with “Men, Money and Ships, which He had hitherto “deferred to do out of Respect to the King, and in “Hope that He would accept his Mediation, and “make such Propositions towards Peace as He might “press the others to consent to.” The *Dutch* Ambassador was likewise come to Town, rather to treat concerning the Prisoners and to observe what the *French* Ambassadors did, than that He had any Thing to propose in Order to Peace, there appearing now since their Fleet was at Sea more Insolence in the *Dutch*, and a greater Aversion from the Peace, than had been formerly.

THE King complained to the Ambassadors of the *French* King’s Proceedings, “that the entering into “that Treaty was expressly against his Word given “to the King: That the *Dutch* had first began the “War, and ought to make the first Approach towards Peace, but that their Ambassador had no “Instruction to make any such Instance; and therefore it seemed very strange to his Majesty, that the “*French* King should press for that which They had “no Desire to have.”

THE Ambassadors confessed “that the *Dutch* did “not desire a Peace; that They thought They were “too much behindhand, and that They had at present “great Advantages; that They looked upon the great “Plague in *London*” (which continued in its full Rage and Vigour, insomuch as at that Time in the End of *September* there died not so few as six thousand in the Week, amongst which some were of the best Quality in the City) “as of such insupportable Damage to the
“King,

“ King, that He would not be able to set out another
“ Fleet the Year following: And therefore that, when
.33) “ They had been pressed by the *French* King to make
“ some Propositions towards Peace, He could get no
“ other Answer from them, than *that They expected that*
“ *the Island of Poleroone should be released to them, and*
“ *that the Fort at Cabo Corso in Guinea should be thrown*
“ *down and slighted*, which They confessed was an in-
“ solent Proposition. That They complained *that the*
“ *King their Master, instead of giving them the Assistance*
“ *He was obliged to do, spent the Time in procuring a*
“ *Peace, which They cared not for*: So that,” They
said, “ their Master continued the same Christian Of-
“ fice principally to do his Majesty of *Great Britain* a
“ Service, who He in Truth believed would be re-
“ duced to great Streights by the terrible Effect of the
“ Plague; and in the next Place to defend himself
“ from entering into the War, which He could no
“ longer defer to do, if his Majesty did not, by con-
“ senting to some reasonable Overture, give him a
“ just Occasion to press them to yield to it, and in that
“ Case He would behave himself in that Manner that
“ the King should have no Cause to complain of his
“ Partiality.” The King’s Indignation was so pro-
voked by the Pride and Impudence of the *Dutch* De-
mands, that He gave the Ambassadors no other An-
swer, than “ that He hoped God Almighty had not
“ sent that heavy Judgment of the Plague upon him
“ and his People on the Behalf of the *Hollanders*, and
“ to expose him to their Insolence.”

END of the FIRST VOLUME of the CONTINUATION.

1. The first part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee.

2. The second part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee.

3. The third part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee.

4. The fourth part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee.

5. The fifth part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee.

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